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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART XI

GRENFELL AND HUNT

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND
GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

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WITH SEVEN PLATES

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PREFACE

The present volume, like Part V, consists of literary pieces, with the exception of the Calendar of Church Services at Oxyrhynchus (1357), which on account of its special interest is included with the theological texts. The papyri of Antiphon Sophistes (1364) and Thucydides (1376) belong to the first of the large literary finds in 1906, the lyric pieces and one of the Hesiod fragments (1359) to the second, of which much still remains to be published. The invocation of Isis (1380) and praise of Imouthes-Asclepius (1381) were found in 1903, the Byzantine classical pieces in 1897, the rest chiefly in 1905–6.

In editing the new classical fragments, especially the poetical pieces (1358–1363), we have received valuable suggestions and criticisms from Prof. Gilbert Murray. The assistance afforded by Mr. T. W. Allen, Dr. J. V. Bartlet, the Rev. F. E. Brightman, Mr. W. E. Crum, Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, Mr. E. Lobel, Mr. J. G. Milne, the Rev. E. M. Walker, and Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri.

Part XII, consisting of documents of the late Ptolemaic, Roman, and early Byzantine periods, is in an advanced state of preparation, and we hope to issue it early in 1916.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.
ARTHUR S. HUNT.

Queen's College, Oxford,
June, 1915.

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general method followed in this volume is the same as that in Parts I–X. Of the new classical texts, **1360–2** are printed in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style. In the others, and in the fragments of extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for separation of words, capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. The Graeco-Egyptian literary texts and **1357**, which is a non-literary document, are given in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved ; additions and corrections are incorporated in the text, their occurrence being recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected if they seemed likely to give rise to any difficulty. Iota adscript has been printed when so written, otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted ; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri in this volume and Parts I–X, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz. :—

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I–II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

Archiv = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung.*

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den K. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.

P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I–II, by F. G. Kenyon ; Vol. III, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell ; Vol. IV, by H. I. Bell.

C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.
P. Cairo Maspero = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, by J. Maspero.
P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
P. Flor. = Papiri Fiorentini, Vols. I and III, by G. Vitelli; Vol. II, by D. Comparetti.
P. Giessen = Griechische Papyri zu Giessen, Vol. I, by E. Kornemann, O. Eger, and P. M. Meyer.
P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell; Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
P. Hamburg = Griech. Papyrusurkunden der Hamburgischen Stadtbibliothek, by P. M. Meyer.
P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
P. Klein. Form. = Griech. Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats, Studien z. Palaeogr. und Papyruskunde iii, viii, by C. Wessely.
P. Leipzig = Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.
P. Leyden = Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemanns.
P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I–VI and X, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt; Parts VII–IX, by A. S. Hunt.
P. Par. = Les Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii. 2, by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger.
P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I–II, by J. P. Mahaffy; Part III, by J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly.
P. Reinach = Papyrus grecs et démotiques, by T. Reinach.
P. Rev. Laws = The Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an introduction by J. P. Mahaffy.
P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt; Vol. II, by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, and A. S. Hunt.
P. Ryl. Coptic = Catalogue of the Coptic Papyri, by W. E. Crum.
P. S. I. = Papiri della Società Italiana, Vols. I–III, by G. Vitelli and others.
P. Stud. Pal. = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, by C. Wessely.
P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly; Part II, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed.

I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

1351. LEVITICUS xxvii.

2·6 × 5·9 cm. Fourth century. Plate I (recto).

This small fragment comes from a vellum leaf which contained double columns and when complete must have been nearly square in shape. It is inscribed with upright uncials of medium size and the regular Biblical type; though somewhat heavy, they are well formed and probably not later than the fourth century. A new paragraph is marked by a projection of a couple of letters into the margin, as well as by a paragraphus (l. 6; cf. e. g. **1169**). At the ends of lines an unusual unevenness was permitted. The quality of the text is not apparent from so short a specimen; a minor agreement with a few cursive MSS. is noticeable in l. 15.

Recto. Plate I.

Col. i.

. . . .
αυτ]ο 12
[ο ιερευς ανα μ]εσον
. . . .

Col. ii.

. . . .
το τ[ο επιπεμπτον 15
του α[ργυριου της τει
5 μης κα[ι εσται αυτω
εαν δε απο του [αγρου της 16
[κα]τασχεσεω[ς αυτου
[αγια]ση ανθρω[πος τω
[κυριω] και εστ[αι
. . . .

Verso.

Col. i.

. . . .
10 ο αγι]ασας 19
[αυτον προσθ]ησει το
[επιπεμπτον] του αρ

Col. ii.

. . . .
φ[εσεως αποδοθησε 24

[γυριου π]ροσ την τει τ̣αι [
[μην α]υτου και ε̣[σται . . . .
[αυτω] εαν δε μ̣[η λυ
[τρωσ]ηται τ̣[ον
. . . .

4–5. A omits της τιμης.
8. [αγια]ση: αγιασει FM.
15–16. λυτρωσ]ηται: so the cursives 15, 53, 108, 118; λυτρωται is the usual reading.

1352. PSALMS lxxxii, lxxxiii.

13·1 × 10·5 cm. Early fourth century.

A practically complete vellum leaf from a book of the Psalms. The stichometrical arrangement of lines, for which **1226** supplies an early instance, is not here adopted, but stichometrical divisions are marked, somewhat erratically, by means of double dots (cf. **657** and **1078**). The letters, which are of a third to fourth century type, show some variation both of size and formation; as a rule they are upright, but in l. 21 the scribe has lapsed into a sloping style. At its best this hand is rather similar to that of **849**, and is no doubt of approximately the same date. θεός and κύριος are abbreviated as usual, but not υἱός (ll. 8, 37). Vertical and horizontal lines were drawn with a hard point as boundaries of the column, but there are no apparent traces of horizontal ruling within the space so marked. Alterations here and there have been made by a corrector who used a small cursive script. The pagination is original. The text is of a markedly 'mixed' character. An agreement with R is noticeable in l. 42, and another with the Vetus Latina against all other authorities in l. 15. In l. 34 a reading of ART has been substituted, presumably by the diorthotes, for that of Bℵ. Peculiar variants, apart from the spelling of proper names, occur in ll. 11, 15, 17, 21, 26.

Verso.

ροθ
κατα σου διαθηκην διεθοντο : τα lxxxii. 6, 7
σκηνωματα των Ἰδουμαιων και οι
Ἰσμαηλειται Μωαβ' : και οι Αγγαρη
νοι Γαιβα και Αμμων : και Αμαληκ' 8
και αλλοφυλοι : μετα των κατοι
κουντων Τυρον : και γαρ και Ασσουρ 9

συνπαρεγενετο μετ αυτων : εγε
ιν
νηθησαν εις αντιλημψ τοις υιοις
Λωτ' :
διαψαλμα
ον γη
ποιησωμεν [α]υτοις ως τη Μαδι › 10
αμ' και τω σωσεισαρα : ως ο Ϊαβειν
εν τω χειμαρρω Κεισων : εξολε 11
θρευθησαν : εν Αερδωμ' εγενηθη
σαν κοπρος τη γη : εθου τους αρ 12
χοντας αυτων ως τον Ωρηδ' και
Ζηβ' και Ζεβεβ' και Σαλαμαν : α
παντας τους αρχοντας αυτων : οι 13
τινες ειπαν κληρονομησωμε
εαυτοις το αγιαστηριον του θυ :
ο θς μου εθου αυτους ως τροχον : 14
ως καλαμην κατα προσωπον ›

Recto.

ρπ
ανεμου : ωσει πυρ ο διαφλεξει δρυ 15
μον : ωσει φλοξ κατακαυσαι ορη : ου 16
τως καταδιωξεις αυτους εν τη κα
ταιγιδι σου : και εν τη οργη σου κατα
ξεις αυτους : πληρωσον τα προσω 17
πα αυτων ατειμιας : και ζητησου
σιν το ονομ[α [[αυτ]ων ατειμιας : κ[α]ι
ζητησουσιν το ονομα σου κε :]] αισχυ 18
θητωσαν και ταραχθητωσαν εις τον
αιωνα του αιωνος : και εντραπητω
σαν και απολεσθωσαν [:] και γνωτωσαν 19
οτι ονομα σοι κς : συ μονος [[ει]] υψιστος
επι πασαν την γην :

πγ εις το τελος υπερ των ληνω̃ lxxxiii.

τοις υιοις Κορε ψαλμος
ως αγαπητα τα σκηνωματα σου κε̄ : 2
των δυναμεων : επιποθει και εκ 3
λειπει η ψυχη μου εις τας αυλας του
κῡ : η καρδια μου και η σαρξ μου η
ν
γαλλιασατο επι τον θν̄ τον ζωντα :
και γαρ στρουθιον ευρεν εαυτω 4

1. διεθοντο : l. διεθεντο.
4. Γαιβα : Γαιβαλ ℵ$^{c.a}$; Γεβαλ AT, Ναιβαλ B.
5. και is omitted by ℵ$^{c.a}$T and many cursives.
10. διαψαλμα : om. ART.
11. ποιησον, the corrected reading, is that of the MSS.
αυτοις : αυτους R. There is no other authority for the insertion of γη after τη.
12. l. Σεισαρα (Σισαρα B^{b}AT). Possibly the superfluous letters were dotted by the corrector (cf. ll. 29, 34), for dots, if they had been inserted, would be no longer visible in this place.
13. Κεισων : Κισσω(ν) A.
εξολεθρευθησαν : εξωλεθρ. A, εξωλοθρ. B^{ab}.
14. Αερδωμ : cf. the cursive 276 Αερδωρ, 293 Αελδωρ ; Αενδωρ BℵART. The δ has a dot over it and may be meant to be cancelled ; cf. ll. 29, 34.
15. κοπρος : ως κοπρος B, ωσει κ. ℵART.
τη γη : της γης R.
εθου : so Vet. Lat. *posuisti* ; θου other MSS.
16. Ωρηδ : Ωρηβ MSS.
17. Ζεβεβ : Ζεβεε MSS.
Σαλαμαν : Σελμανα B, Σαλμανα ℵAR^{a} (Σαλμαν R*) T, Σαλμαναν a number of cursives.
απαντας : παντας MSS.
20. αγιαστηριον : so ℵAT ; θυσιαστηριον BR.
21. εθου : cf. l. 15 ; θου MSS.
23. ανεμου : πυρος ℵ*. R omits ο after πυρ.
24. κατακαυσαι : κατακαυσει R.
26. καταξεις : ταραξεις BℵA, ταραξης T, συνταραξεις R.
28. ζητησωσιν T.
29. ονομα : προσωπον A.
29–30. A dittography of αυτων . . . ονομα has been inaccurately removed. In l. 29 the repeated letters have had dots placed above them ; in l. 30 this method of deletion was abandoned and a round bracket inserted, but not in quite the right position. A corresponding bracket no doubt preceded αυτων in the previous line.
34. ει, as originally written, is found in Bℵ ; om. ART. The two letters have been cancelled by dots added above the line. ο υψιστος R*.
37. τοις : om. R.
39. επεποθει R.
41. κ(υμιο)υ : θ(εο)υ ℵ*. ηγαλλιασατο, as originally written, occurs also in the cursives 114, 202, 204. The alteration was made by the first hand.
42. τον θ(εο)ν τον ζωντα : so R ; θ(εο)ν ζωντα BℵAT.

1353. First Epistle of Peter v.

13·5 × 10·1 cm. Fourth century.

A leaf of thin vellum, broken and worm-eaten, but showing approximately the original dimensions. No clear traces of ruling are discernible. To the small size of the page the round uncial writing is on a rather disproportionately large scale; the hand bears a general resemblance to that of the Codex Sinaiticus, though both the lines and the individual letters are there rather less widely spaced. There is no clear instance of punctuation. Of the common angular sign used to fill up short lines there is one doubtful example in l. 3. *θεός* and *Χριστός* were contracted as usual. The pagination number entered by a different hand on one side of the leaf shows that the volume was of considerable compass.

The text appears to have stood in no close relationship to that of any of the main authorities. An agreement with B against most other testimony is noticeable in l. 13 (cf. l. 25), but there are divergences elsewhere, e. g. ll. 17, 27. A variant not otherwise attested occurs in l. 6, and there is certainly one reading, more probably two, which have hitherto rested on much later authority (ll. 11, 34); cf. in this respect **1075**. introd., **1170**.

Recto.

δωσι χαριν τ[α]πεινω v. 5, 6
θη[τ]ε ουν ϋπο την κρ[α]
ται[α]ν χειρα του θυ̅ ϊ›
να υμας ϋψωση εν
5 καιρω πασαν [τ]ην̣ με 7
ριμνα[ν] ϋ[μων επιρι
ψατε επ αυ[τον οτι αυ
τω μελει π[ερι υμων
νηψατε γρη[γορησα 8
10 [τε] ο αντι[δικος υ]μ[ω̄
[ο δια]β̣ο̣[λος ως λε]ων
[ωρ]υομεν[ος περ]ιπα
[τει] ζητων [κα]τ̣[α]πεῖ
[ω α]ντιστητε στε 9
15 [ρε]οι τη πι[σ]τει ειδο

Verso.

σκ̣θ
σμω [υ]μων α[δε]λφοτη
τι̣ ε̣π̣ι̣τελεισθε [ο] δε θ̅ς̅ 10
20 πασης χαριτ[ο]ς̣ [ο] καλε
σας ημας εις την αιω
νιο[ν] αυτου δοξαν εν
[Χ̅ω̅ ολιγ]ον π[α]θοντας
[αυτος κα]τ̣αρτιει στη
25 [ριξει σθ]ενωσει αυτω 11
[κρατος ει]ς τους αιωνας
[των αιω]νων αμ[ην
δ̣[ια Σιλουανου υμιν 12
[του πιστ]ου αδε[λφου
30 ω[ς λογιζ]ομαι δ[ι ολι
γ[ω]ν εγραψα παρ[ακα
λων και επιμαρτ[υρων

[τε]ς τα αυτα των πα ταυτη[ν] ειναι αλη[θη
[θημα]τ[ων] τη ε[ν] κο χαριν θ̄[υ] εις ην [στητε
35 ασ[π]αζετ[αι υ]μ̣[ας 13

3. χειρα: so BKL; χειραν ℵA. The complementary mark at the end of the line is uncertain.

4. A dark mark above the line after νψωση is probably not to be regarded as a stop. A diaeresis over υ of υμας is likely to have disappeared in a lacuna.

5. καιρω: A adds επισκοπης.

6. επιρι]ψατε: επιρ(ρ)ιψαντες MSS.

9–10. It may be inferred from the space that οτι did not precede ο as in ℵcL.

11. [ο δια]βο[λος: the β, of which the vestige is hardly to be mistaken, is slightly to the right of ο of ωρ]υομενος, and since ω is an exceptionally broad letter it is clear that δια does not fill the available space. The addition of the article appears to be peculiar to the tenth-century cursive 13; another agreement, however, with that MS., which Eichhorn described as the queen of the cursives, is found in l. 34 below.

13. [κατα]πει(ν): so B (καταπιειν), Westcott-Hort; τινα καταπιειν ℵKL &c., τινα καταπιη A &c. The common spelling καταπειν is found also in ℵ* (καταπιν).

17. κοσμω: so AKL &c.; τω κοσμω Bℵ.

18. K transposes υμων αδελφοτητι; L omits υμων.

19. επιτελεισθε is for -σθαι.

21. ημας: so K; υμας BℵAL.

22. δοξαν: βασιλειαν και δοξαν L.

23. There is not room for τω which in B precedes Χριστω, nor for Ιησου which AKL add after it.

24. κα]ταρτιει: καταρτισει BℵA; καταρτισαι υμας KL.

25. ℵKL &c. add θεμελιωσει after σθενωσει; BA agree with **1353** in its omission.

26. ς of ει]ς is slightly to the left of ν of σθ]ενωσει and directly over the first ν of αιω]νων. It therefore appears that the reading here was still shorter than that of BA, and perhaps το was omitted, or η δοξα may have replaced το κρατος as in cursive 45. ℵL have η δοξα και το κρατος, K η δοξα κρατος.

27. [των αιω]νων: so ℵAKL &c.; om. B.

32. There would be no room for και (ℵ) at the end of the line.

34. θ̄[(εο)υ]: του θεου all uncial MSS. But though the letters νθ here are damaged and indistinct, there can be no doubt from the space that του was omitted, as in a few cursives, including 13. At the end of the line εστηκατε (KL) would obviously be much too long.

1354. Epistle to the Romans i.

23·2 × 10·3 cm. Sixth or seventh century.

This papyrus leaf containing the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans is in far from good condition. One side is broken away and other damage has been sustained, especially on the verso, where decipherment is in places difficult. When complete, if the margin at the bottom of the columns was similar to that

at the top, the leaf was about 28 cm. high, and its breadth may be estimated at about 18 cm. The upright script, large and very heavy, is in the later Byzantine style; similar hands are seen e. g. in the illustrated chronicle edited by Bauer and Strzygowski, *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* li. 204, and the papyrus codex of Cyril Alex. *De adoratione* (New Palaeogr. Soc. Plate 203). The ink is of the reddish-brown colour common at that period. A high stop is used in l. 29 and a paragraphus occurs below l. 33, the initial letter of the following paragraph being also enlarged. The usual contractions are found, including that of *υἱός*, though this word is once written out (l. 6). Textually the fragment is of slight interest.

Recto.

προς Ρ]ω̅μ̅α̅ι̅[ους

[Παυλος δουλ]ος Ι̅υ̅ Χ̅υ̅ κλητος απο i. 1
[στολος αφωρι]σμενος εις ευαγγελι[ο̅
[θ̅υ̅ ο προε]πηγγειλατο δια τω̅ 2
5 [προφητων] αυτου εν γραφαις α
[γιαις περι το]υ ϋιου αυτου του γε 3
[νομενου εκ σ]περματος Δ̅α̅δ̅ κατα
[σαρκα του ορ]ισθεντος υ̅υ̅ θ̅υ̅ εν 4
[δυναμει κατα] π̅ν̅α̅ αγιωσυνης εξ α
10 [ναστασεως ν]εκρων Ι̅υ̅ Χ̅υ̅ του κ̅υ̅
[ημων δι ου] ελαβομεν χαριν 5
[και αποστολην ε]ι̣[ς] ϋπ[ακοην] πιστε
[ως εν πασιν τοις εθνεσιν υ]π̣ε̣ρ τ̣[ο]υ̣
[ονοματος αυτου εν οι]ς εστε και [υ] 6
15 [μεις κλητοι Ι̅υ̅ Χ̅υ̅ πα]σιν τοις ουσι̅ 7
[εν Ρωμη αγα]πητοις θ̅υ̅ κλητοις
[αγιοις χαρι]ς̣ ϋμιν και ειρηνη α
[πο θ̅υ̅ πρ̅ο̅ς ημω]ν και κ̅υ̅ Ι̅υ̅ Χ̅υ̅
[. . . . . τ]ω θ̅ω̅ μου δι[α] Ι̅υ̅ Χ̅υ̅ 8
20 [περι παντων υ]μων οτι η πιστις
[υμων καταγγε]λ̣λ̣[ε]τε εν ολω τω
[κοσμω μαρτυ]ς γαρ μ[ο]υ̣ ε̣[στιν ο] 9
[θ̅ς̅ ω λατρευω] ε̣ν̣ π̣[ν̅ι̅ μου εν τω

Verso.

ευαγγελιω του $\overline{\text{ΥΥ}}$ α[υτου ως αδια
λ[ι]πτως μνειαν υ[μων ποιουμαι
παντο[τ]ε υπερ των [προσευχων μου 10
δεομενος ει πως ηδη [ποτε ευοδω
θησομαι εν τω θε[ληματι του $\overline{\text{θυ}}$ ελθειν
προς υμας· επιποθ[ω γαρ ιδειν υμας 11
ἵνα τι μεταδω χαρι[σμα υμιν $\overline{\text{πνατικο}}$
εις το στιρηχθηνα[ι υμας τουτο δε εστιν 12
συνπαρακληθηνε ε[ν υμιν δια της
εν αλ[λ]ηλοις πιστ[εως υμων τε και εμου
$\overline{\text{Ου}}$ [θελω δε υμας αγνοειν αδελφοι ο 13
τι [πολλακις προεθεμην ελθειν
π[ρ]ος [υμας και εκωλυθην αχρι του δευ
ρο ἵνα τι[να καρ]πον [σχω και εν υμιν
καθως και εν τοις λ[οιποις εθνεσιν Ελ 14
ληνσιν τε και βαρβα[ροις σοφοις τε και α
νοητοις οφιλετη[ς ειμι ουτω το κατ ε 15
με προθυμον κα[ι υμιν τοις εν Ρωμη
ευαγγε[λισ]ασθ[αι ου γαρ επαισχυνομαι το 16
ευ[α]γγ[ελι]ον δυνα[μις γαρ $\overline{\text{θυ}}$
[. . . . .] . . . [

2. Ι(ησο)υ Χ(ριστο)υ: so ℵAEGKL &c.; Χριστου Ιησου B and **209** (early fourth cent.).

4. The supplement is a trifle short; perhaps a small blank space was left after θ(εο)υ. Line 11 is analogous.

16. εν Ρωμη: om. G, which has εν αγαπη for αγαπητοις. E omits αγαπ. θεου.

18. **209** alone has Χ(ριστο)υ Ιη(σο)υ, as in verse 1. A blank space large enough for three or four letters was left at the end of this line.

19. How the initial lacuna here should be filled remains doubtful. The ω of τ]ω stands slightly to the left of the κ of και in the line above and directly above μ of υμων in the line below, and there is evidently not room for πρωτον μεν ευχαριστω, the ordinary reading. There is some authority for the omission of μεν (so 40*, Chrys., and some versions), but this reduction would hardly suffice unless there was also a lipography of the sylable -τω. Possibly πρωτον was written $\bar{\alpha}$.

21. l. καταγγε]λλ[ε]ται; cf. l. 32.

22. μ[ο]υ: so BℵACD^{c}EKL &c.; μοι D*G.

26. υπερ: l. επι with the MSS.

31. l. στηριχθηνα[ι. The supplement is of full length and the reading of A, τουτεστιν, would be quite suitable. The ε of δε may of course have been elided.
32. l. συνπαρακληθηναι; cf. l. 21.
34. Whether the papyrus had ου θελω or ουκ οιομαι (D*G) cannot be determined.
41. G omits τοις εν Ρωμη.
42. It seems likely enough on considerations of space that the terminal -αι was written as ε once or even twice in the lacuna.

1355. Epistle to the Romans viii.

Fr. 1 11·2 × 4·4 cm. Third century. Plate I (recto).

The following fragments of a leaf from a papyrus book are in an upright informal hand of much the same character as 1171, though smaller in size; it may be assigned with probability to the third century. A paragraphus below l. 53 is the only form of stop, and no other signs occur except the diaeresis. θεός and πνεῦμα certainly were contracted, and that the other ordinary abbreviations were used may be inferred with security from the spacing. A correction by a second hand is found in l. 17.

Unfortunately the leaf is badly mutilated, the loss of more than half of every line depriving it of much of its value for critical purposes. The text appears to have been of good quality, showing, like 1171, a general agreement with the Codex Vaticanus, from which the two definite divergences are the avoidance of the vulgar spelling ἐφ' in l. 16, and an illegible reading in l. 17, where the unknown variant ελευθερ]ουται απο for ελευθερωθησεται απο has been inserted by the corrector.

Verso.

. . . . . .

ο]υ [τη σ]αρκι viii. 12
[του κατα σαρκα ζην ει γαρ κατα σαρκα ζ]ηȩ[ε] μελ 13
[λετε αποθνησκειν ει δε πνι τας πραξει]ς του σω
[ματος θανατουτε ζησεσθε οσοι γαρ π]νι θυ αγον 14
[ται ουτοι υι θυ εισιν ου γαρ ελαβετε πνα] δουλειας 15
[παλιν εις φοβον αλλα ελαβετε πνα υιοθε]σιας εν
[ω κραζομεν αββα ο πηρ αυτο το πνα συ]νμαρτυ 16
[ρει τω πνι ημων οτι εσμεν τ]εκνα θ[υ ει δ]ε τεκνα 17
[και κληρονομοι κληρονομοι] μεν θυ συνκληρονο
[μοι δε Χυ ειπερ συνπασχομε]ν ϊνα και συνδοξα

[σθωμεν λογιζομαι γαρ οτι ουκ] αξια [τ]α παθηματα 18
[του νυν καιρου προς την μελλ]ουσαν δ[ο]ξ[α]ν αποκα
[λυφθηναι εις ημας η γαρ απο]καραδ[ο]κ[ια] της [κ]τι 19
[σεως την αποκαλυψιν των] ὑ̣ων του θ̅υ̅ απε̣κ̣
[δεχεται τη γαρ ματαιοτητι η] κτισις υπεταγη 20
[ουχ εκουσα αλλα δια τον υποτ]αξαντα [ε]π ελπιδι
ο]υτ̣α̣ι̣ απ̣[ο]
[οτι και αυτη η κτισις ελευθερ]ωθη[[. .]] της δου 21
[λειας της φθορας εις την ελε]υθεριαν της δοξης
[των τεκνων του θ̅υ̅ οιδαμεν] γαρ οτ[ι] πασα η κτι 22
[σις συνστεναζει και συνωδιν]ε̣ι αχρ[ι] του νυν

3 lines lost.

βλεπο]μενη 24
[ουκ εστιν ελπις ο γαρ βλεπει τις ελπιζει ει] δε ο ου 25
[βλεπομεν ελπιζομεν δι υπομονης απ]ε̣κ̣δεχ[ο]
[μεθα ωσαυτως δε και το π̅ν̅α̅ συναντιλα]μβανεται 26
[τη ασθενεια ημων το γαρ τι προσευξω]μεθα κα
[θο δει ουκ οιδαμεν αλλα αυτο το π̅ν̅α̅ υπερε]ν̣[τ]υ̣γχα
[νει στεναγμοις αλαλητοις ο δε εραυνων τας καρ]διας 27
. . . . . .

Recto. Plate I.

. . . . . .
τι̣ς̣ [εγκαλεσει κατα εκλεκτων θ̅υ̅ θ̅ς̅ ο δικαιων τις 33, 34
ο κατ[ακρινων Χ̅ς̅ Ι̅ς̅ ο αποθανων μαλλον δε εγερθεις
ος κα̣[ι εστιν εν δεξια του θ̅υ̅ ος και εντυγχανει υπερ
ημω̣[ν τις ημας χωρισει απο της αγαπης του Χ̅υ̅ 35
θλιψ[ις η στενοχωρια η διωγμος η λιμος η γυμνοτης
η κιν[δυνος η μαχαιρα καθως γεγραπται οτι ενεκεν 36
σου θ[α]νατουμ[εθα ολην την ημεραν ελογισθημεν
ως προβατα σφα[γης αλλ εν τουτοις πασιν υπερνικω 37
μεν δια του αγα[πησαντος ημας πεπεισμαι γαρ οτι 38
ουτε θανατος ο̣υ̣[τε ζωη ουτε αγγελοι ουτε αρχαι ου
τε ενεστωτα ου[τε μελλοντα ουτε δυναμεις ουτε 39
ὕψωμα ουτε βα[θος ουτε τις κτισις ετερα δυνησεται

[η]μας χωρισαι α̣π̣[ο της αγαπης του θῡ της εν Χω̄ Ιῡ
[τ]ω κω̄ ημων [αληθειαν λεγω εν Χω̄ ου ψευδομαι ix. 1
συνμαρτυρουσης̣ [μοι της συνειδησεως μου εν πνῑ
αγιω οτι λυπη μ[οι εστιν μεγαλη και αδιαλειπτος ο 2
δυνη τη καρδια μ[ου ηυχομην γαρ αναθεμα ειναι αυ 3
τος εγω απο του Χ̄[ῡ υπερ των αδελφων μου των συγγε
νων μου κατα σ̣[αρκα

3 lines lost.

αιων[ας αμην ουχ οιον δε οτι εκπεπτωκεν ο λογος 5, 6
του θῡ ο[υ γαρ παντες οι εξ Ιηλ̄ ουτοι Ιηλ̄ ουδ οτι 7
εισιν σ[περμα Αβρααμ παντες τεκνα αλλ εν Ισαακ
κληθησ̣ε̣[ται σοι σπερμα τουτ εστιν ου τα τεκνα της 8
σαρκο[ς ταυτα τεκνα του θῡ αλλα τα τεκνα της επαγγε
λιας λ[ογιζεται εις σπερμα επαγγελιας γαρ ο λογος 9
ουτος [κατα τον καιρον τουτον ελευσομαι και
εσ[ται

. . . . . .

3. του σω[ματος: so BℵACKL &c.; της σαρκος DEFG.

7. It is quite unlikely that ωστε, which in DE precedes αυτο, stood in the papyrus.

14. του: om. FG.

16. [ε]π: so AB^{3}CD^{c}EKL &c.; εφ B*ℵCD*FG.

17. What was originally written in place of the ordinary reading ελευθερωθησεται απο is not clear; no variant is recorded. Perhaps the first hand wrote ηλειθερωθη εκ; the corrector substituted ελευθερουται απο. At the beginning of the line it is improbable that διοτι (ℵD*FG) was read, the supplement being already of ample length.

19. γαρ: δε A.

25. The lacuna is of approximately the same length as those of the three following lines, and it is therefore hardly possible, even with allowance for the large number of iotas, that τι και followed τις as in ℵ^{c}ACKL &c. The most suitable reading is that of B (so Westcott-Hort); B^{2}DFG have τις τι, ℵ* τις και. On the same ground ελπιζει (BℵCDFGKL &c.) is preferable to υπομενει (ℵ*A).

30. There would clearly be no room for the addition of υπερ ημων (ℵ^{c}CKL &c.) before στεναγμοις.

32. It is practically certain that εκ νεκρων (ℵ*AC) did not follow εγερθεις. With regard to the omission of Ι(ησου)ς (so BDEK) and the addition of και before αποθανων (so DEFGKL), the space gives no evident indications.

33. κα[ι: so BℵCDEFGKL; om. ℵ*AC.

34. The supplement here is rather shorter than in the adjacent lines, and perhaps ουν was read after τις with FG.

39. του αγα[πησαντος: so BℵACKL; τον αγαπησαντα DEFG.

40. In DE ουτε εξουσια precedes ουτε αρχαι, in C ουτε εξουσιαι follows; the papyrus

evidently had neither of these readings. It is equally certain that *ουτε δυναμεις* followed *μελλοντα*, not *αρχαι* as in KL.

42. *τις* may well have been omitted, as in DEFG.

44. [*τ*]*ω κ*(*υρι*)*ω*: *του κυριου* ACFG. The papyrus possibly read I(*ησο*)*υ* after X(*ριστ*)*ω* with D*EFG.

47–8. *αναθεμα ειναι αυ*]*τος εγω*: *αυτ. εγω αναθ. ειν.* CKL.

48. *απο*: so BℵACFKL &c.; *υπο* DEG. *μου*, which is omitted after *αδελφων* by D*FG, is required to fill the space.

49. *των κατα* DEG.

54. *ουτοι* I(*σρα*)*ηλιται* with DEFG is not impossible.

56. The space would admit of *οτι ου* (ℵ^{c}B^{2}).

57. *του* may have been omitted before *θ*(*εο*)*υ*, as in FG.

1356. PHILO.

Fol. 4 16 × 15·5 cm. Third century.

The following fragments are from the papyrus codex of Philo of which the pieces identified as belonging to extant treatises were printed under **1173**. Apparently the codex contained other treatises which have not come down to us; at any rate we have not succeeded in identifying several fragments, though it is likely enough that of the smaller pieces at least the place will be found among Philo's existing works.

A palaeographical description of the papyrus was given in the introduction to **1173**; the numeration of the leaves below is adapted to that of the leaves previously published. Fol. 4, the most considerable of the new fragments, is the left-hand leaf of a sheet of which Fol. 5, from near the beginning of the *De Ebrietate*, is the right-hand portion. Between the latter and Fol. 4, as the pagination shows, 5 sheets, i. e. 20 pages, intervened. The leaf is damaged in places, and in the recto it is difficult to obtain connected sense. Apparently the main subject is punishment, which is also under discussion on the verso, where interpretation is easier. The story of Croesus is cited in illustration of the doctrine that penalties are paid sooner or later, either in this world or the next, where disguise will be stripped off and the soul will be seen as it really is. Of Fol. 8, which belongs to the same sheet as Fol. 7, containing some of the final sections of the *De Ebrietate*, only beginnings and ends of lines remain. Since the pagination numbers are lost, there is no external indication as to whether the leaf preceded or followed Fol. 7. It is written in the more formal though perhaps not really different hand of Fols. 2–3, which come from the middle part of the *Quod Deterius Potiori insidiatur*. But the fragment is not to be found in the

preceding portion of that treatise, nor apparently in the *De Ebrietate*. Fol. 10 is not connected with any of the fragments previously published. It is broken both at the side and the bottom, but the damage is less severe than in Fol. 8. There is an agricultural simile on the recto, ll. 6–10, and the verso is concerned with prayer. Of Fol. 11, another independent leaf, only a small corner from the top remains. Frs. 1 and 2 are in the hand of Fols. 1, 4–7, 10–11; Fr. 3 is in that of Fol. 9, from the *De Mercede Meretricis*, but belongs to some other treatise.

Fol. 4 recto.

ρqβ

τες τῆς ψυχῆς την περι . . ἀνω . [. . . . .] . [. . . .
επιμελειας και προστασιας το[.]ε[. . . . . αν
θ[ρ]ωπινων πραγματων αμ . . [. . . . . .
εν αρεταις καλλιστευουσης οσι . . [. . .] . . . . [.
5 σιν οις δεοντως αν ειποιμεν τε . . [. . . . .] . μι
κροψυχια την θεου μεγαλονοιαν παραμ[ε]τρι
τε η ουκ εισθ οτι ημεις [[μ]] παθημ[α]σι μον[ο]ις
ελαυνομεθα και παραθηγομεθα πρ[ος α]φρονας
επεξοδους αναγκαζομενοι ποιεισθαι [.]τω . [.] .
10 τε αναγιω και αποφω προσεστιν λογισμω
γαρ μονω χρηται κυβερνητη τους αρμοττον
τας εκαστοις καιρους περιαρθρειν . . ς ανδρε[ς
. . . . . φιλοσοφια συμβιουν επιμορφαζο[ν

ο

τες . . υνδ[.] . ε . . γυναικος γ . ητριδος συγ . [.
15 φους ευβουλια [το]υς περι θεων ηττωμεν[ους
φησι [γ]αρ θεοι δ[. . .] . νεσω . [. .] . τικαδαη[. . . . .
ε . . . ηλ[.] . . [. . . . . .]ηλα[. . . . .
. [. .] . . . . [25 letters
[. . . .] . . [28 „
20 [ ]
. . [30 „ κα
τοργασ . [. .] . δ[25 „
εκον . . [. . .] . [25 „

Fol. 4 verso.

ρφγ

[. .]τ̣η̣[. . . . .] τους νομους θελ̣ει̣ ουκ̣ ευκαταφρονη
τ[ο]ις ο[υν δοκ]η̣θ̣εντι Κροισω των καθ εαυτον απᾱ
τ[ων γενομε]νων ευδαιμονεστατω ειναι καθα
φα̣[σιν εκ το]υ̣ Δελφικου τριποδος ενθουσιων ο α
λ[η]θ̣η̣[ς] μ̣[αν]τ̣ις προυθεσπισεν τελος οραν μακρου
β[ιο]υ̣ τ̣[ων γ]αρ αδικων ατειμωρητος ουδεις προς
α[λ]η̣θεια̣[ν] αφειεται δικας δε τας αρμοττουσας
διδωσιν ε̣[ι] και μη ευθυς αλλ οψε γουν ως οιονται
τινες ο̣ψ̣ε̣ γαρ ουδεν των εν τη φυσει βραβευου
σ̣ι̣ παν[τ]α̣ δ̣ε̣ εν καιρω διδωσι μεντοι και ει μη ενταυ
θα και παρ ημειν αλλ εναουτε παρα δικα[σ]ταις
[κ]ρειττοσι λελυμενοις των σωματος δεσμ̄ω̄
[ο τ]α παθη και τας κακιας εζωπυρει και ενεφλε
[γ]εν εξ̣ εαυτου ψυχαις γαρ ψυχας δικαζοντες γυ
μνας ολας δι ολων κατανοουσι ειλικρινως ου
[δ] α̣υθ̣ υπο των π̣ε̣ρ̣ι̣απτων [. . . .]ν̣ κατειλημπτο
[πρ]ο̣τερον απ[. . .]μενοι . [. .] . εν τινι̣ σ̣υν λ̣ο
[. . . .]αρα . [. . . . . .]υς εσ̣ω̣ ε̣ . [. . . .
[25 letters] . ο . [. .] . [. .]πω
[30 ,,] α[πο]κρι
[32 ,,]α̣σι
[33 ,,]ατρ[.]
[27 ,,] . [.]γε . τυρᾱ
[ν 24 ,,]μα γ̣υμ̣ναζων

Fol. 8.

Verso.

ακουειν εγνω̣ η̣[
το αντι θ̄ῡ [. . .]υν[αν
θρωπους [
μεναδ̣[
ακρατα μ̣ . [

Recto.

]γοπ̣[ο]ι̣οι δ ουδεν
]εναι ο̣ντων
ε]μπνευθε̄
] . . . ς και
] . δε εξ αποστο

αs επεν[
ρειτεφ[
παν̣ι[
προ τοσ̣ . [
αλλα πρ . [
about 9 lines lost.
λ̣[. . . .] . [
ετερους [
σ . [
. . [

]τομεν
η]μιν
τ]ων ολων
]ντες δω
] . . σα .
] . ειν̣[. . . . .
about 8 lines lost.
πα]νουργον
] . [.]νους
]
]
]ν

Fol. 10 recto.

εμπειρο[
ευχεται τι̣[
αναδιδαχθ[
νος η πηδαλ̣[ιουχων (?)
ϊσως δ ουδε π . [
ερριζωμενος [
τρον π̣ . . [
μηδε γυρ̣ευσαι φυτον [
απο πηγης αποχετευσαι μ[
μαι̣ τ̣ον αρδο η ταυτ[
ουχ Ελλην μονον αλλα κα̣[ι βαρβαρος
μενα μαρτυς δε και α[
φων προς Κα̣μβηση̣ν . [
> ειποντα [. . .] . . . [
. [. .]ω̣ν ο[
. . . . . .

Fol. 10 verso.

] λογισμου
]σθαι κατα
]α και αθροα

πα]ρεστωσαι τῃ
] ευχαις αποτει
] ουκ επισταμε
]ν αρετης θῡ μελε
] τελουσι τας ευχας ιστω
] πρεπον ευσεβε[ι]α κοσμον οι
]ζοντες παρατηρητεον δε
]λεστερων μηδ οσα δυνατοι
]εν ευχεσθαι δει γαρ τας σῡ
] διδοντος μαλλον η αδξι
μ]ετρεισθαι παρ ο και δημο
[σι] τον υπερ' τη̄

. . . . . .

Fol. 11.

Recto.

σωφροσυνῃ[
κατασκευ[α ει
ρῃνῃν θε[
τ[

. . . . .

Verso.

]ν εφειεται η
]γουσαι ου̣ εχω
]ον
]της υπο κ[. .]
]σ

. . . .

Fr. 1.

Recto.

. . . . .
]νισαφρ . . . . . αβ . . [
] . κλοπαις και αρπαγ[αις
. . . . . .

Verso.

. .
]ατ[
]αι φ[
]ι αλ[
]ιπετο[
]ενυμ[
. .

Fr. 2.

Recto.

. . .
φυσις α[

Verso.

. . . .
] . οδ[. .]αι

τωσε[
ε
δησα[
καθ' ἕ[
. . .

ε]σ̣τιν αλλο
]ι̣ν·
] . τ̣ι δυ
] . [.] . [. .
. . . .

Fr. 3.

Recto.

. . . .
] α̣λλ̣ω̣[
]ε̣ι και̣ . [
]δ̣[.] . [
] ειπων ο̣[
]ε̣ντα· δογ̣ . [
]α̣ι̣ τω' του̣[
] . α̣ι̣ δε τα[
]α̣υ̣ται[
[ ]
]ο̣σ̣τ[
. . . .

Verso.

. . . .
]ασον[
] . εται δ[
] γνησιο̣ν [
]ανοησας [
]ων ζ̣ων[τ
]ιοχος τε[
]κτως φ . [
] . ατε̣ . κα[
] προσ[
]α̣νε[
] . [
. . . .

Fol. 4. 1. The letter after περι may be π, but πλ is unsatisfactory and a substantive is rather expected. περιτιτανωσ[ιν is possible (cf. Hesych. ⟨τε⟩τιτανωμένας γεγυψωμένας).

5. ς of οις has been corrected; apparently the scribe began to write δ. Both τη and τι seem to be inadmissible after ειποιμεν.

6. θεου: for the absence of contraction cf. ll. 15 and 16. Elsewhere in this MS. the contracted form is used.

9. ἐπέξοδος in the sense of punishment is common in Egyptian documents, but hardly to be found elsewhere except in Philo (Mangey, i, p. 283. 12, ii, p. 314. 1, p. 525. 24). At the end of the line]των[would suit the remains, but the construction is obscure.

10. αποφω after αναγιω looks like a corruption of ανοσιω. τε is perhaps displaced.

12. περιαρθρειν is presumably for περιαθρειν, which occurs in Philo *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* pp. 387 c, 393 a (Mangey, ii, p. 636. 1, p. 641. 23); Philo also uses περιάθρησις. The next word is possibly ως.

13. The vestiges are consistent with συμ φιλ., though the υ is too far from the μ. επιμορφαζειν occurs repeatedly in Philo, with the infin., as here, in i, p. 387. 30, ii, p. 551. 18 Mangey, and with other constructions elsewhere.

14. νυν δ[ε] περι is a possible reading, but the π would be unsatisfactory and the passage apparently devoid of construction. The ἄνδρες would rather be expected to be brought into some relation with the γυνή. γοητριδος, if that is the word intended, is intelligible though

a novel form. Below the interlinear ο a correction has been made, but what was originally written (? ν) and the purport of the alteration are not clear. At the end of the line συγ.[or συπ[seems inevitable.

23. Apparently not εκουτ.

24–38. 'Let not then the truthful seer be despised who, when Croesus was supposed to be the happiest of all the men of his time, so the story goes, warned him under inspiration from the Delphic tripod to regard the end of a long life. For in truth no unjust person is allowed to go unpunished; but he pays the fitting penalty, if not at once, then late at any rate, as some think, although nothing in nature is determined late, but everything in due season. However, he pays it, if not here and among us, then in Hades, with better judges, who are freed from the chains of the body which of itself kindled and inflamed passions and vice; for judging with their souls naked souls they see them distinctly through and through.'

24. Some ink marks in the margin above ουκ are probably accidental.

25. τ[ο]ς suits the space better than τ[ω]ς, and δοκ]ηθεντι perhaps better than οι]ηθεντι. Croesus is referred to by Philo also in ii, p. 60. 13 and p. 468. 116 Mangey.

26. ανθρω]πων is inadmissible.

27–9. According to the well-known story in Hdt. i. 32 the warning τέλος ὁρᾶν was given to Croesus by Solon; cf. Diogen. viii. 51 τέλος ὅρα βίου (μακροβίου cod. Pant.; cf. μακρου βιου here)· τοῦτο τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα Σόλων εἶπε Κροίσῳ. In l. 27 φα[σιν is extremely doubtful.

31–2. οψε κτλ.: cf. e. g. Eurip. Fr. 224 Δίκα τοι δίκα χρόνιος, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑποπεσοῦσ' ἔλαθεν, ὅταν ἔχῃ τιν' ἀσεβῆ βροτῶν, Fr. 969 ἡ Δίκη . . . σῖγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ στείχουσα μάρπτει τοὺς κακοὺς ἀεὶ βροτῶν. βραβενουσι has no definite subject and is perhaps an error for βραβευεται.

34. εναουτε: l. εν Α(ι)δου γε. For other uncorrected corruptions in this text cf. e. g. Fol. 7 recto. 21 και ανθωσ[ιν] for χλιανθ. and Fol. 10. 8–10 below.

39. περιαπτων: cf. e. g. Philo i, p. 288. 6 Mangey ἀπαμφιασάμενοι τὰ περίαπτα γυμνὴν ἐπιδείκνυνται τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. [νφ ω]ν might well be restored in the following lacuna, but there then seems to be no subject for the verb unless κατειλημπτο was regarded as plural.

40. συν: apparently not ουν.

Fol. 8. 9. The doubtful σ is possibly ι; the next letter has a vertical stroke and is not α nor ο.

24.]γοπ[ο]ιοι: the first letter may be τ, and γ[ο]ν could be read in place of π[ο]ι.

25.]εναι: or ε[ι]ναι.

33. The vestige after σα may be a medial stop.

Fol. 10. 4. πηδαλιοῦχος and πηδαλιουχεῖν are Philonian words, e. g. i, p. 145. 33, p. 131. 43 Mangey.

8. γυρευσαι is a *vox nihili*; was φυτεῦσαι meant? The ε has been corrected, perhaps from α.

9. ἀποχέτευσις is used by Philo (Mangey, i, p. 29), but apparently not the verb.

10. A blank space is left after αρδο, the archetype being presumably illegible or defective. αρδοντα would be in keeping with the context.

13. προ σκαμβης is unattractive here, and we prefer to suppose that καμβησην was written for Καμβυσην; both μαρτυς δε in l. 12 and ειποντα in l. 14 are in favour of a proper name.

14. For the use of the diplê in a prose papyrus cf. **1241**. v. 5, 24, vi. 25, P. Hawara 15 in *Archiv* v, p. 378. A similar sign is employed in **405** to mark a quotation, and possibly this is the meaning of the sign here.

28. l. αξι.

30. The reason for the comma-shaped mark after υπερ is not evident. Such marks are not infrequently inserted at this period between doubled consonants, but would not be expected between υπερ and την, and there is no parallel elsewhere in **1173** or **1356**.

Fol. 11. 6. The first letter may be either γ or τ, and ου εχω may be ους χω-.

Fr. 2. 1. The *a* has been rewritten.
7. *ν* is made with a very long diagonal stroke in order to fill up the line.

Fr. 3. 5. The supposed stop may be the top of an *ι*.
11. The spacing suggests that the division was]ας ον[.

1357. Calendar of Church Services at Oxyrhynchus.

29·6 × 36·4 cm. A. D. 535–6. Plate I (Col. i).

This unique papyrus, one of the most interesting documents concerning the early Egyptian Church that has been discovered, contains a list of συνάξεις at various churches on Sundays, festivals, and (apparently) other days through a period of five months in a year which was the 14th of an indiction-series. σύναξις (*conventus* or *collecta*), a term applied by Cyril Hierosol. and Chrysostom to Christian congregations in general, is used by Dionysius the Areopagite (fourth or fifth century?) with especial reference to the celebration of the Eucharist; and, though his explanation of the origin of the term (*De eccl. hier.* i. 3) is incorrect, Socrates, who discusses συνάξεις and states that at Alexandria on Wednesdays and Fridays the scriptures were read and expounded, πάντα τε τὰ συνάξεως γίνεται δίχα τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων τελετῆς (*Hist.* v. 22), shows that in the fifth century σύναξις was used for a service which generally included the celebration of the Eucharist. The word passed into Coptic, e. g. Hyvernat, *Actes des Martyrs*, i, p. 249 '*un jour qu'ils faisaient la sainte* σύναξις *dans le* τόπος *des saints apôtres Pierre et Paul, au jour de leur commémoraison qui est le cinquième d'Epip*' (cf. p. 29), and continues in the calendar of the Greek Church with reference to services on certain important occasions, e. g. ἡ σύναξις τῆς Θεοτόκου on Dec. 26. Nilles (*Kalend. utriusque eccl.* i, p. 53 and ii, pp. 61–4) notes, as others have done, the resemblance to the Latin *stationes* or processions on fixed days to particular churches at Rome, especially in Lent or on festivals, when from before the times of the Gregorian Sacramentary (eighth century according to Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, ed. 4, p. 124) the Pope participated in the service and addressed the people—a duty which since 1870 is performed by a cardinal as his deputy. The parallelism between this list of συνάξεις and the Roman *stationes* is indeed curiously close, as was observed by the Rev. F. E. Brightman, to whom and to Mr. W. E. Crum we are indebted for valuable assistance in the interpretation of this papyrus (Π).

The text is in two columns, containing 32 and 36 or 37 lines respectively, of which the first has lost six lines in the middle but is otherwise complete, while the second is broken vertically down the middle, so that the details concerning festivals are lost, and there are also gaps affecting the numbers of the days and names of churches. The lines are closer together towards the end of Col. ii, of which the margin at the bottom is broken but was in any case much narrower than in Col. i, as if the writer were cramped for space, and it is not likely that any columns are missing, though a fragment assigned to l. 56 might possibly come from a later column. The script is a rather large, somewhat irregular uncial, the size of λ, υ, and χ and letters at the end of a line being often exaggerated. It suggests a scribe who was familiar with drawing up liturgical documents, probably Coptic as well as Greek, but was not particularly well educated, as is also indicated by the character of the Greek, which is correctly spelled but employs some vulgar forms; cf. notes on ll. 1, 2, and 8.

Abbreviations are numerous, being indicated usually by a wavy line either above or after the last letter written; but the contraction of Χριστοῦ is avoided. Diaereses and paragraphi are used occasionally; cf. l. 56, note. The palaeographical evidence points to a date not earlier than about A. D. 450 nor later than about 550; but internal evidence fortunately enables the year to be fixed more precisely. Since several Sundays are recorded, the days of the week are known wherever the days of the month are preserved, so that e. g. Phaophi 23 (l. 3) was a Sunday. This day in an ordinary year corresponded to Oct. 20, but comes, like all the dates in Π as far as l. 62, within the six months' period from Aug. 29 to the end of Feb. during which owing to the difference of intercalation the days on the Egyptian calendar may fall one day later than usual in the Julian calendar. Hence Phaophi 23 in a Julian year next before a leap-year corresponds to Oct. 21. There happens to be no occasion in the fourth and fifth centuries on which Phaophi 23 of the 14th indiction falls on a Sunday, and of the two years in the sixth century which fulfil the prescribed conditions, 535 and 580, we have for palaeographical reasons little hesitation in preferring the earlier, which is in fact the only thoroughly suitable date, being confirmed by two pieces of internal evidence. In the first place the Nativity is recorded on Choiak 28, not 29, as is natural if the year was bissextile; cf. p. 28. Secondly Easter in 536 in Egypt fell on March 23 (Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronol.* ii, p. 263), a date which is quite in accordance with the indications in Π concerning the beginning of Lent (cf. p. 30), and of which the arrival would form a not unnatural point for the conclusion of the document. In 581 Easter fell on April 6, so that Lent began on Mecheir 30 (Feb. 24), and the year was not bissextile.

Π is thus shown to be concerned with the year 535–6, less than a century

after the Council of Chalcedon (451), which caused a schism in the Alexandrine Church, and to fall near the end of the patriarchate of Timotheus IV and of the period of compromise with the monophysites inaugurated by the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno. Timotheus died in 536 and was succeeded by Theodosius, who was exiled by Justinian three years later, when the monophysite patriarchs of Alexandria were finally disowned by Constantinople and a permanent succession of rival catholic patriarchs began. The circumstance that Π belongs to the period of compromise accords well with the large number of churches mentioned, which had been greatly multiplied since the preceding century (cf. p. 26), and at most, but probably not all, of which the clergy were no doubt monophysites, as is perhaps also indicated by the exceptional prominence assigned to the festival of St. Philoxenus (ll. 24–7, note).

On the general character of early church festivals and calendars see Duchesne, *op. cit.* ch. viii. The earliest extant calendar of any of the Eastern Churches is a Syriac one, written in 411 and first published by Wright, and now by Nau in *Patrol. Orient.* x, pp. 11–23, which gives a list of festivals observed in Syria. Of the Latin Church the earliest calendars are the short Philocalian tables (336) referring to popes and martyrs buried at Rome, and the Martyrology attributed to St. Jerome, which is largely based on the same source as the Syriac calendar and in its present form is of the fifth century, a calendar of Tours (461–90), and another of Carthage (soon after 505). The oldest Byzantine calendars, that of Morcelli (eighth century?), that at Naples (ninth century?), and the Menologium of Basil (tenth century), are several centuries later than Π, which, as would be expected, differs considerably from them but agrees with the early Syriac martyrology with regard to the date of the commemoration of SS. Peter and Paul (cf. p. 29). Of the Coptic Church the earliest calendars are those published from menologia by Nau in *op. cit.* x, pp. 187–210 (thirteenth–fourteenth century), by Tisserand from Abul-Barakât in *op. cit.* x, pp. 252–78 (thirteenth century), Wüstenfeld's *Synaxarium* (fifteenth century; the second half of the year was never issued), and Basset's (from fourteenth and sixteenth century MSS.; *Patrol. Orient.* i, pp. 224 sqq. and iii, pp. 247 sqq., covering Thoth—Choiak only). For the modern calendar of the Eastern Churches see Nilles, *op. cit.* and Malan, *Calendar of the Coptic Church.* Π's list is naturally shorter than the mediaeval ones, and has many other points of difference.

The starting-point is not the beginning of the Egyptian civil year (Thoth 1 = Aug. 29) but Phaophi 23 (Oct. 21, not 20, in 535), this date being explained by the title (ll. 1–2), which states that the list refers to συνάξεις 'after the πάπας descended to Alexandria'. Πάπας was the ordinary title in Egypt of the Alexandrian patriarch, e.g. in P. Amh. 3 (*a*). iii. 5 (cf. Deissmann, *Licht vom*

Osten, p. 137), Brit. Mus. 113 (10). 12, but it is applied also to presbyters and even subordinate clergy, e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 417. 3 πάπας Ἑρμουπόλεως (a village in the Arsinoite nome; cf. Deissmann, *op. cit.* p. 150) and 1631. ix verso. 1. In P. Giessen 55. 2, as Mr. Crum remarks, π′π′ means πρεσβύτερος, which is often thus abbreviated in Coptic papyri, not πάπας, as suggested by the editor. In **1357** the mention of Alexandria and the obvious importance of the πάπας in question make it much more likely that the patriarch is meant than a local bishop. Oxyrhynchus was the seat of a bishop, who in 534 was abba Petrus (P. S. I. 216. 4); but κατελθεῖν would be a more natural word to use in reference to the patriarch's return than to the departure of the bishop of Oxyrhynchus on a visit to Alexandria. Probably, therefore, Timotheus IV had come to Oxyrhynchus on his way back from a tour of inspection in Upper Egypt, and started homewards a day or two before Oct. 21. The calendar, which is too elaborately written to be a mere private memorandum and may have been publicly exhibited, must have been drawn up either on his departure, if it is a notice concerning forthcoming συνάξεις, or about Easter or later, if it is a record of συνάξεις actually held. It is not a complete list of days on which there were services, for few of the churches mentioned were visited more than two or three times in the five months, and just before the Epiphany a whole week (Dec. 31–Jan. 6) passes without a σύναξις in an interval between continuous συνάξεις from Dec. 19–28 and Jan. 7–13. That is the only case where a Sunday is certainly omitted in Π; but a regular use of all the churches mentioned, with Eucharistic services on Sundays and probably on important festivals, is quite compatible with the apparent claim of the writer in l. 1 to set forth a comprehensive list of συνάξεις, if that term is interpreted (cf. p. 19) in the light of the Roman *stationes* as special assemblies on Sundays and holy days at appropriate churches (if possible, the church of the saint whose day it was; cf. ll. 8, 10–11, and 24), at which the bishop of Oxyrhynchus was very likely present. At Rome the *stationes* are now 87, on 83 different days in a year, distributed among 44 churches (Nilles, *op. cit.* ii. 63); at Oxyrhynchus the συνάξεις in about five months from Oct. to March were 66, on about 62 different days, distributed among at least 26 different churches, so that in a year the whole number of συνάξεις may have exceeded 130, and of churches 40. The days at Rome on which two or more *stationes* are held on the same day are Christmas Day and the Thursday following the Fourth Sunday in Lent; at Oxyrhynchus two συνάξεις took place on Tubi 1 (the day of St. Peter and St. Paul), 14, 15 and very likely on a day early in Mecheir (l. 50), possibly others. The use of εἰς in e. g. εἰς τὴν ἁγί(αν) Μαρίαν (l. 30) to indicate her church is exactly parallel to the use of *ad* in the Roman liturgy in connexion with the *stationes*, e. g. *ad S. Paulum extra muros*; the name of a saint standing for his church is

already common in sixth-century documents, e.g. **141**. 3 (p. 25) and P. Stud. Pal. x. 35 (p. 24). That the calendar was an official one, drawn up by some presbyter or deacon or other assistant of the bishop of Oxyrhynchus, for the use either of the clergy whose duty it was to attend *συνάξεις* or of the public, is the most probable explanation of the care expended on its production.

Oxyrhynchus is not actually mentioned, but apart from the provenance of the papyrus and the correspondence between the saints invoked in **1151**. 40–50, a Christian amulet of the fifth(?) century, and the names of several churches mentioned in Π, the fact that Oxyrhynchus was the town in question is proved by the occurrence of at least four known names of Oxyrhynchite churches. Thus the *νοτινὴ ἐκ[κλησία* in ll. 37 and 61 is doubtless identical with the church of that name in a list of guards stationed at the chief buildings of the town about A. D. 300 (**43** verso. iii. 20). The continued survival of this church through the period of persecution before Constantine is the more interesting because its existence in the reign of Diocletian had been questioned by Wilamowitz, who (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 676) wished to regard *ἐκκλησία* in **43** as a place of assembly. The *βορρινὴ ἐκκλησία* mentioned in **43** verso. i. 10 perhaps occurs in l. 50, which can be restored *εἰς] τὸ β[ορρινὸν μαρτύριον. ἐκκλησία* and *μαρτύριον* are sometimes treated as synonymous at this period, as is indicated by e. g. **941**. 3 *οἰκονόμου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰούστου . . . ἀντὶς τοῦ μαρτυρίου* and **1311** *Ἀνιανὸς πρ(εσβύτερος) μαρτυρ(ίου) ἅπα Ἰούστου*, this *μαρτύριον* being no doubt the same as the church of St. Justus in l. 10 of Π; cf. **1151**. 50 and p. 27. The *ἄμφοδον ἁγίας Εὐφημίας* at Oxyrhynchus known from **1038**. 23 is moreover to be connected with the church of that saint (cf. l. 41, note), and the *οἰκ(ονόμος) τοῦ ἁγίου Γαβριήλ* in **993** with the church named in l. 54.

Except in the case of the 'Southern church' and possibly the 'Northern martyrium', *ἐκκλησία* and *μαρτύριον* do not occur in Π, but *ἐκκλησίαν* has to be supplied with *τήν* before *μαρτύρ(ων)* (l. 5), *Φοιβάμμωνος* (e.g. l. 3), *Ἀννιανῆς* (ll. 21 and 44), and *ἅμα* [*Ἡραΐδος* (l. 40). On the church 'of the Martyrs' see l. 5, note. Phoebammon is presumably identical with the saint of that name (Amélineau, *Les actes des martyrs*, pp. 54–9), whose day in later times (but not in Π; cf. ll. 46–8) was Tubi 27, and who is well known from many Theban and other Coptic texts (cf. e. g. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, p. xii) and Christian inscriptions (e. g. that quoted in l. 20, note), besides B. G. U. 694 (Arsinoë, seventh–eighth century), P. Brit. Mus. 1430, &c. (church or monastery at Aphrodito, eighth century), P. Stud. Pal. x. 35 (sixth or seventh century). Of the last-mentioned papyrus, which is a list of *ὄψα* supplied to various churches and monasteries at an unnamed town, we append the text with some additional restorations:

+ Θεοδώρῳ [
(ὑπὲρ) βρεουίου ὄψω[ν . . .
καρπῶν πέμπτ[ης ἰνδικτίονος
εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον) τῶν [. . .
εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Φοιβάμμ[ωνα . . .
εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Εὐφημί[αν . . .
εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ἅμα Ἡρ̣[αὶν . . .
εἰς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον [Μιχαὴλ (Γαβριὴλ ?)
εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἀββᾶ . [. . .
εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον) ἀβ[βᾶ Ἀνδρέου ?
εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Φιλόξενο[ν . . .
εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον) τῶν [. . .
τῶν παρθενευουσῶν [. . .
ἀββᾶ Μαρκέλλο[υ . . .
Ἀβραμίου̣ [. . .
εὐχαριστῶ . . [. . .
πτ[. . .
[. . .]φαρι̣[. . .
[Φιλ ?]ίππου [. . .
πε . . . ε . [

The churches of SS. Phoebammon, Euphemia, and Philoxenus (ll. 5, 6, 11) correspond to the churches in ll. 3, 51, and 24 of Π; ἡ ἁγία ἅμα Ἡρ[αΐς (so Crum in l. 7; Wessely reads Ἀμαη .[) may be identical with ἅμα [. . . in l. 40 of Π; the archangel (l. 8) is doubtless Μιχαήλ or Γαβριήλ (cf. ll. 8 and 54 of Π), and the ἅγιος ἀββᾶ . [. . . (l. 9) may well be the saint in l. 49 of Π, while the monastery in l. 10 can be that mentioned in **146**. 1 and **147**. 1. Whether ἀββᾶ Μαρκέλλου and Ἀβραμίου (ll. 14–15) are names of churches or monasteries or of private persons is not clear; they do not occur in Π, but in view of the marked coincidences in ll. 5–11 with churches at Oxyrhynchus that town is in any case quite as likely to be the one concerned as Heracleopolis, to which Wessely doubtfully refers it. The ρ of ἅμα Ἡρ[αίν is uncertain, and in l. 40 of Π Ἀμα[ίου could be read (cf. B.G.U. 682. 1 = P. Klein. Form. 783 ἐνοικ(ίου) τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀμαιω, perhaps a mistake for Ἀμαίου, a name occurring in e.g. P. Klein. Form. 655. 3), or e.g. Ἀμα[ρανθίου, or Ἀμα[ντίου (a reputed martyr under Hadrian; cf. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum sincera*, p. 18). But ἅμα Ἡραΐς is a well-known Coptic saint, whose day was Tubi 28 (Jan. 23); cf. Hyvernat, *Actes* i. 78 sqq. With regard to the two omissions of ἅγιος in Π, where P. Stud. Pal. x. 35. 5 and 7 insert it, scribes are often inconsistent in the employment of that term (cf. e.g. **146**. 1 with **147**. 1); but the uniform use in Π of the accusative, not the genitive with τήν, in the names of ἅγιοι suggests that the absence of the term where Phoebammon, Anniane, and ama Heraïs are mentioned was no mere accident, and in the cases of Epimachus and Ision also, whose days are recorded (cf. pp. 26–7), the omission may well have had a real significance. Probably none of these persons had yet been officially recognized as saints: that churches in Egypt were sometimes called after persons who were apparently not yet technically ἅγιοι was already attested, e.g. at Oxyrhynchus (**1053**. 23 ἐκκλησία ἀββᾶ Ἱερακίωνος, later a Coptic saint; cf. l. 46, note), Aphrodito (P. Brit. Mus. 1419. 524 ἐκκλ(ησία) Ἑρμείου), Arsinoë (ἐκκλησία

Ἰσίωνος, cf. p. 27), and Alexandria, where the church of St. Michael was generally known as Alexander's after its founder, the patriarch from 313 to 326, and the church of Theonas was also called after its founder (Cabrol, *Dict. de l'archéol. chrét.* i, pp. 1110 sqq.). Whether the churches of Phoebammon and the two others were so called because they too were the founders is very doubtful. Phoebammon is not known to have been connected with Oxyrhynchus, and though he and ama Heraïs must have been officially recognized as saints soon after the date of Π, they have not survived in the modern Coptic calendar. Anniane may be identical with the Ἀνιανή who gave her name to a Memphite village in P. Stud. Pal. x. 297 verso. i. 6; but we have failed to trace her elsewhere. Her name recalls that of Anianus (Annianus is probably less correct), the second patriarch of Alexandria, and possibly she was his sister; but there is a difference of several weeks between his day in the Coptic calendars (Hathur 20, which comes in the period covered by the lacuna in ll. 14–19) and the services at Anniane's church on Choiak 12 and Tubi 17. That St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, is meant is unlikely; cf. l. 21, note. Phoebammon is a common name, and if he and ama [. . . were different from SS. Phoebammon and ama Heraïs, both they and Anniane might be explained as the founders or even owners of churches. Since monasteries seem to have been sometimes called after private owners, this may have happened in the case of churches too. But it is more likely that they were martyrs or other holy persons venerated at Oxyrhynchus, though on a lower level of sanctity than e. g. St. Menas and St. Victor. They were thus in the same rank as Epimachus and Ision, of whom the former is obviously identical with St. Epimachus in the Coptic calendars, while the latter had a church at Arsinoë in the seventh or eighth century (P. Klein. Form. 299 ἐκκλησία Ἰσίωνος, this Ision being apparently identical with the ἅπα Ἰσί[ων whose monasteries are mentioned in *op. cit.* 603); cf. pp. 26–7.

Other churches mentioned in **1357** include nine which were called after the principal saints, St. Mary (l. 30), the archangels Michael (l. 8) and Gabriel (l. 54), SS. Peter (l. 33) and Paul (l. 34?), the prophets Jeremiah (l. 46) and Zachariah (l. 52, note; which Zachariah is meant is uncertain), 'the Baptist' (l. 47), and 'the Evangelist' (l. 23). The selection of one particular evangelist as distinct from the others is somewhat remarkable. At first sight St. Mark, the founder of the See of Alexandria, might seem to be indicated, but St. John is probably meant for several reasons: (1) he is the only evangelist mentioned in **1151**, and all the other saints there named (the Virgin and archangels, SS. Serenus, Philoxenus, Victor, and Justus) had churches in Π's list; (2) **141.** 3 θυρουρ(ῷ) τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου implies that St. John was the patron saint of a church or monastery at Oxyrhynchus; (3) there is apparently a contrast intended between (St. John) 'the Baptist' and

'the Evangelist', which goes far to explain the omission of the name in both cases. The remaining churches were called after various lesser saints (chiefly Egyptian martyrs), of whom SS. Cosmas (l. 22), Euphemia (l. 51), Julianus or Julius (l. 48), Justus (l. 10), Menas (l. 11), apa Noup (l. 56), Theodorus (l. 65), Theodotus (l. 63?), and Victor (l. 20) are still commemorated by the Coptic Church, but not SS. Philoxenus (l. 24) and Serenus (l. 4). In ten instances the names are lost, but l. 49 may well refer to the known church of abba Hieracion (l. 46, note). The churches most frequently visited on the occasions of *συνάξεις* were those of Phoebammon (8 *συν.*), SS. Philoxenus (7 or 8, including 4 in connexion with his festival), Mary (4 or 5, including 3 at Christmas), and Serenus (4); at the Evangelist's, St. Michael's, and the Southern church 3 *συνάξεις* were held, at the others 2 or 1. According to Rufinus, who visited Oxyrhynchus early in the fifth century, the city contained 12 churches *in quibus publicus agitur populi conventus* (i.e. *σύναξις*) *exceptis monasteriis in quibus per singula orationum domus sunt* (*Hist. Mon.* v), and he was informed by the bishop of Oxyrhynchus that there were as many as 10,000 monks and 20,000 nuns. These numbers are probably exaggerated, but Rufinus' glowing account of the town's piety is corroborated by the large increase in the number of the churches, which in A.D. 535 probably amounted to 40 or more (cf. p. 21). Oxyrhynchus must have been an important Christian centre, and the disappearance of its numerous churches and monasteries is much to be regretted. Relics of them may be seen in some pillars in the chief mosque of Behnesa, and a single Corinthian column which marks the modern Coptic cemetery in the desert to the south-west of the town ruins.

Besides the list of churches Π provides some valuable information concerning the various festivals and other days on which *συνάξεις* took place. Phaophi 25 (Oct. 22) was a 'day of repentance', a novel expression. A *μοναστήριον τῆς μετανοίας* at Alexandria is known from P. Flor. 298. 54, and the word is used in the Greek and Coptic Churches for 'obeisance' (Nilles, *op. cit.* i, p. lxiv). The date is too far removed from Christmas to be connected with Advent, which, moreover, does not seem to have taken its place among Western Church seasons before the latter part of the sixth century, while in the East the *κυριακὴ τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας* is the Western Sexagesima, and the observance of the *τεσσαρακοστὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου* from Nov. 14 (his day, which may have come in l. 14; cf. p. 28) to Dec. 24 cannot be traced back earlier than 806, when it was enjoined upon monks by Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople. Hathur 3 (Oct. 30) was the 'day of Epimachus', i.e. St. Epimachus, a martyr under Maximian, commemorated in the Menol. Basil. and by the Coptic Church of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries on the same day (Nau, *op. cit.* p. 192, Tisserand, p. 258), but since the fifteenth

century (cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, Hathur 4) on the day following. The omission of ἁγίου before his name may well be explained, as in the case of Phoebammon and others (cf. p. 24), by supposing that he was not yet formally acknowledged as a saint; but it is not clear that ἁγίου was anywhere inserted in connexion with the days of particular persons, and the omission may be due merely to desire for brevity. Ision, however, whose day was Choiak 15 (Dec. 11), is not called ἅγιος in the two papyri referring to his church and monasteries at Arsinoë (cf. p. 25), from which alone he was known previously, so that with both him and Epimachus the omission is likely to be significant, especially since Ision, unlike Epimachus, is absent from the mediaeval and modern Coptic calendars. Neither of these two was commemorated in a church called after himself, and that such did not exist is clear from the contrast with the festivals of SS. Michael (ll. 8–9, Hathur 12–13 = Nov. 8–9), Justus (l. 10, Hathur 14 = Nov. 10), Menas (l. 11, Hathur 15–16 = Nov. 11–12), and Philoxenus (ll. 24–7, Choiak 22–5 = Dec. 18–21), which were celebrated by συνάξεις in their own churches (cf. p. 19). The archangel Michael's and St. Menas' days (the first of the successive συνάξεις) coincide with their dates in the mediaeval and modern Coptic and Greek calendars (a σύναξις of the archangel in the Greek; cf. p. 19); but St. Philoxenus' day, in Egypt at any rate, was not known previously; cf. ll. 24–7, note.

The date of St. Justus' day creates a difficulty. The mediaeval and modern Coptic calendars mention apparently five saints of that name, and Hathur 14 (Nov. 10) seems to correspond to a commemoration on Hathur 16 of Justus, a soldier martyred at Rome (fourth century?); in that case he is different from (1) St. Justus the patriarch now honoured on both Phamenoth 16 (March 12) and Pauni 12 (June 6), (2) the Justus whose *Acts* are extant (cf. Amélineau, *Les actes des martyrs*, p. 177), a martyr at Antinoë, honoured in the mediaeval calendars on Mecheir 9, (3) the companion martyr of St. Apollo (Mesore 1), and (4) the son of the Emperor Numerianus (Mecheir 11, but Mecheir 10 in the thirteenth century); but the Justus Martyr mentioned on July 14 in the Menol. Basil., and on Oct. 2 in Morcelli's calendar, is perhaps identical with the soldier Justus. He is not found, however, in the mediaeval Coptic calendars, and the μαρτύριον ἅπα Ἰούστου at Oxyrhynchus, as the church is apparently called elsewhere (cf. p. 23), would better suit the martyr of Antinoë. Hence we are disposed to think that the latter may be meant in l. 10, in spite of the divergence from the mediaeval date of his festival. For a service at his church three days later (l. 13) and one at St. Victor's on Choiak 7 (Dec. 3, l. 20), as well as for a service at St. Serenus' on Choiak 27 (Dec. 23, l. 29), no explanation is given, and the reason for the choice of these days is obscure. The σύναξις on Hathur 17 might be connected with the Alexandrine custom in the fifth century (cf. p. 19) of holding συνάξεις on

Wednesdays. But the other two days are Tuesday and Monday, and the *συνάξεις* in Π certainly depend mainly on saints' days, until Lent at any rate, when Saturdays predominate to the apparent exclusion of other week-days (cf. p. 30). Wednesdays are indeed until l. 56 more frequent in Π than any other week-day (7 *συνάξεις*, the next being Tuesday and Thursday with 5), but this seems to be accidental. The practice in Π apart from Lent is hardly in accordance with Socrates' statements (*Hist.* v. 22) concerning the importance of Saturdays as a day for *συνάξεις* in Egypt outside Alexandria.

In the lacuna affecting ll. 14–19 references to the days of SS. Andrew the Apostle (Choiak 4 = Nov. 30), Philip the Apostle (Hathur 18 = Nov. 14), and Cosmas (Hathur 22 = Nov. 18) may be lost; cf. notes on ll. 14–19 and 22. The observance of the Nativity (l. 30) by *συνάξεις* on three days (Choiak 28–30 = Dec. 25–7, not 24–6, in 535) does not seem to coincide with the three days' festival from Dec. 24–6 in the modern Coptic calendar. The mention of the Nativity occurs on Choiak 28, not 29 which is ordinarily Christmas Day, a circumstance which is best explained in accordance with the mediaeval Coptic synaxarium for Choiak 29 (Basset, *op. cit.* iii, p. 537) '*en effet elle* (*la naissance*) *eut lieu à la fin du 28 de Kihak et le 29*^{e} *jour, et aussi, parce que dans les années bissextiles la nativité tombe le 28 de Kihak et dans les années non bissextiles le 29, ils* (*les Pères de l'Église*) *ont voulu que les deux jours fussent consacrés par honneur à cette sainte fête.*' An early observance of Christmas Eve is less likely, for vigils (*παραμονή* is the word in the Greek Church) are very rare in early church calendars, and if Choiak 28 was Christmas Eve the mention of the Nativity ought to have occurred in the next line. Christmas Day had about a century before the date of Π (cf. Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 259) been fixed on Dec. 25 in the Eastern Church, one branch of which, the Armenian, still combines it with the Epiphany on Jan. 6, and that the Egyptian Church in the sixth century observed the Byzantine (i. e. Roman) date of Christmas irrespective of the peculiarities of the Egyptian calendar is in the case of so important a festival not a surprising exception to the rule governing saints' days. In an ordinary year, in which Choiak 29 coincided with Dec. 25, there were probably only two *συνάξεις* connected with Christmas, since Tubi 1 was a day of other commemorations.

In Col. ii the notices of saints' days &c. are lost but can in several cases be restored. The festival of St. Stephen, which is older than the discovery of his tomb in 415 (Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 267), would be expected to be mentioned, and either the first of the two *συνάξεις* in ll. 33–4 on Tubi 1 (Dec. 27) might refer to the *ἡμέρα* (*ἁγίου*?) *Στεφάνου*, who is honoured by the mediaeval and modern Coptic and Greek churches on that day, or the second *συνάξις* might be *εἰς τὸν ἅγιον*

[*Στέφανον ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ*. A church of St. Stephen at Arsinoë occurs in e. g. P. Stud. Pal. x. 75. 7. But in the East in early times, as is shown by the Syriac calendar of 411, the martyrdom of St. Stephen was celebrated on Dec. 26, that of SS. James and John, Apostles, on Dec. 27, and that of SS. Peter and Paul on Dec. 28, the first date being still observed in the Armenian Church, which inverts the order of the other two commemorations. Hence, since the service in l. 33 was at St. Peter's, that in l. 34 was probably at St. Paul's, and the absence of a *συνάξις* at this point in honour of St. Stephen, if not due to Christmas, may be accounted for by supposing that it took place on Thoth 15 (Sept. 12), when there was another commemoration of him in the Coptic calendars, or on Aug. 2, when he is mentioned in the Menol. Basil. In the mediaeval and modern Coptic calendars the day of St. Peter and St. Paul is Epeiph 5 (June 29), as also in the passage from Hyvernat's *Actes des martyrs* quoted on p. 19.

Tubi 3 (Dec. 29) is Innocents' Day in the Coptic calendars, the Greek Church celebrating also St. Marcellus (*ob.* c. 470), who, if identical with the *ἀββᾶς Μάρκελλος* in P. Stud. Pal. x. 35, was formerly venerated in Egypt, though now no longer, and he may have had a church at Oxyrhynchus (cf. p. 24), possibly that mentioned in l. 49. Since the service on Tubi 3 was at Phoebammon's church, *ἡμέρα Μαρκέλλου* is less likely in l. 35 than *ἡμέρα νηπίων*, but the fact that Tubi 3 was a Sunday is sufficient to account for the *σύναξις*. After that day there is a remarkable gap of a whole week without a *σύναξις*, but Tubi 11 (Jan. 6) is the date of the Epiphany in the Coptic as in other calendars, and no doubt *ἐπιφάνεια*, (*τὰ*) *ἐπιφάνια*, *θεοφάνια* or *βαπτισμὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (cf. l. 30) is to be supplied in l. 36. What saints, if any, were celebrated by the *συνάξεις* on Tubi 12–15 (Jan. 7–10), some of which may be connected with the Epiphany, is doubtful (cf. ll. 37–42, notes); but the service on Tubi 16 (Jan. 11) in l. 43 very likely commemorated St. Philotheus, a well-known saint at this period, and that at St. Mary's (l. 45) on Tubi 21 (Jan. 16) is clearly connected with the commemoration of her death in the mediaeval Coptic calendars and of the consecration of the first church of the Virgin in the modern calendar. Duchesne (*op. cit.* p. 269) compares that festival in Egypt with one observed in Gaul in the sixth century on Jan. 11 or 18 and in Spain in the seventh century on Dec. 18; cf. also the *σύναξις* of the Greek Church on Dec. 26 (p. 19). From this point up to l. 52 the numbers of the days are missing, but a festival of St. Julianus on Mecheir 1 (Jan. 26) is perhaps indicated by l. 48, and the festival of *Ὑπαπαντή* may have been recorded on Mecheir 8 (Feb. 2); cf. l. 52, note. The two *συνάξεις* on consecutive week-days, Mecheir 11–12 (Feb. 5–6), at the church of St. Gabriel the archangel (ll. 54–5) may well be explained as implying that Mecheir 11 was his day, in accordance with the two services at St. Michael's on the occasion of his festival.

The mediaeval Coptic calendars, however, commemorate him on Choiak 22 (Dec. 18), the modern also on Phamenoth 30 (March 26), the Greek Church formerly only on Nov. 8, the *σύναξις τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων*, but now on March 26 and July 13, while Wüstenfeld's calendar mentions another commemoration of the archangel Michael on Mecheir 12. The only archangel of whom a commemoration is known before the ninth century is Michael (Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 276), but as Gabriel had a church, he probably had a day also.

Mecheir 13 or 14 (Feb. 8 or 9) seems to have been a day of special importance (l. 56, note) owing to the approach of Lent (*ἡ ἁγία τεσσαρακοστή*), which in Egypt began not earlier than Mecheir 14 nor later than Phamenoth 19 (cf. e.g. P. Grenf. ii. 112), and in the year 536 on Mecheir 16 (Feb. 11); cf. p. 20. There was a *σύναξις* on Sunday Mecheir 15, but none on the 16th or any week-day before Saturday the 21st (ll. 58–9), when one of the two *συνάξεις* perhaps refers to the day of St. Onesimus, St. Paul's disciple. The absence of *συνάξεις* from Monday to Friday in this week is the more remarkable because in ll. 60–2, which cover the remaining nine days of Mecheir, the dates though incompletely preserved (cf. the notes) indicate only one week-day, also a Saturday, between two Sundays. This sudden rise of Saturday into prominence after Mecheir 15 (cf. p. 28) is not likely to be an accident in view of the significant fact that in about 365 the Council of Laodicea (can. 49, Labbe i. 1505) ordered the oblation of bread and wine in the Eucharist as well as the celebration of the festivals of martyrs to be confined during Lent to Saturdays and Sundays, and it harmonizes very well with the date of Easter in Π which has been fixed on other grounds; cf. p. 20. In the concluding month Phamenoth (Feb. 25–March 26, ll. 63–8) the days are lost throughout, and since Wüstenfeld's *Synaxarium* ends at Mecheir 30, no comprehensive mediaeval list of the Coptic saints commemorated in the following month is available in a translation; so that how far Nilles' list, representing the modern calendar, is in accordance with mediaeval tradition, is, when Nau's and Tisserand's mediaeval calendars omit the day, uncertain. Hence any scheme of reconstruction for ll. 63–8 is hazardous, particularly since in three of the six *συνάξεις* even the name of the church is doubtful. We have, however, attempted a provisional reconstruction based on the assumption that the procedure noticed in ll. 59–62 was continued in conformity with the directions of the Council of Laodicea. The key to our restoration is the identification of SS. Theo[dotus] in l. 63 and St. The[odorus] in l. 65 (i.e. the bishop of Pentapolis) with the saints of those names who are now celebrated by the Coptic Church on Phamenoth 6 and 12 (March 2 and 8), but are not mentioned on those days in the mediaeval calendars. If that identification is correct, the days of these saints were no doubt recorded, the second probably falling a day later than

in the modern calendar; cf. ll. 63–6, note. The day of St. Colluthus also, a well-known saint at this period, may well have been recorded in l. 66, and in l. 68, if Μαρίαν is rightly restored, there may have been a reference to Easter Eve rather than to Good Friday or Easter Sunday. Whether the Sundays in Lent had special names remains uncertain.

Since the calendar clearly includes all the more important festivals during Phaophi—Phamenoth, the absence of certain days and commemorations is noticeable. All Saints' day is celebrated by the Coptic Church on Phaophi 23 (Oct. 20), which is recorded as a Sunday in Π. Since in l. 10 ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ supersedes κυριακή, there is a presumption against regarding Phaophi 23 in Π as All Saints' day, though cf. note on l. 20. The mediaeval Coptic calendars also omit this festival, but the Syriac calendar of 411 commemorates All Martyrs on the Friday after Easter, while the Greek Church celebrates All Saints on the Sunday after Pentecost, this date having been chosen as early as the time of Chrysostom (*ob.* 407) for a festival of All Martyrs. Hence Oxyrhynchus in 536 may well have observed that festival at the Martyrs' church either on that day or the Friday after Easter, both of which fall outside the range of Π. Of a commemoration of All Souls' day, Nov. 2 in the Greek as in the Latin Church, but not observed in the Coptic, there is naturally no trace. The Greek Church, distinguishing St. James the ἀδελφόθεος from St. James son of Alphaeus, celebrates the former since the tenth century on Oct. 23, the Coptic similarly on Phaophi 26 (the same day) and on Epeiph 18 or Choiak 30. No σύναξις is recorded in Π on Phaophi 26 and St. James is not mentioned on Choiak 30, so that if a festival of St. James was observed at this period Epeiph 18 is a more likely date. St. James son of Alphaeus, who is honoured by the Greeks on Oct. 2 or 9, by the Copts on Mecheir 10 (Feb. 4), when no σύναξις is recorded in Π, but in the mediaeval Coptic calendars on Mecheir 11 (Feb. 5) and Phaophi 5 (Oct. 2), is in the same position. Neither St. Demetrius Μυρόβλυτος (*ob.* about 306), an important saint commemorated on Phaophi 29 (Oct. 26) by both Copts and Greeks, nor St. Barnabas the Apostle, whose day was Pauni 17 (June 11) in the mediaeval calendars, but is Choiak 21 (Dec. 17) in the modern, is mentioned. The absence of a σύναξις in honour of St. Stephen on Choiak 30 or Tubi 1, if ll. 33–4 are rightly restored, has already been discussed; cf. pp. 28–9. St. John the Evangelist's day in the Coptic calendars is primarily Tubi 4 (Dec. 30), when there was no σύναξις in Π, and since his festival would naturally be celebrated at the church of 'the Evangelist' (cf. p. 25), the only place where ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ can come in connexion with that church is in l. 42 (Tubi 15 = Jan. 10), for ll. 7 and 23 refer to Sundays. It is, however, more probable that St. John's day fell outside the period covered by Π, perhaps on Thoth 29 or 30 (Sept. 26 or 27) or Pachon 13 or 16 (May 8 or 11)

when he is also commemorated on days corresponding to the two commemorations of him in the Greek Church on Sept. 26 and May 8. The Circumcision (Tubi 6 = Jan. 1 in the Coptic calendars) is not marked by a *σύναξις*, an omission which is not surprising in view of the absence of that festival from the old Syriac, Roman, and Carthaginian calendars, although it is found in Gallican use in the sixth century, and in the early Byzantine calendars. Tubi 27 (Jan. 22) is the day of St. Phoebammon in the Coptic synaxary consulted by Amélineau (*l. c.*), but though l. 47 might refer to this day the *σύναξις* was not at his church, and is therefore clearly unconnected with his festival. The Finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena in 326 is celebrated in the mediaeval and modern Coptic calendars on Phamenoth 10 (March 6) in addition to the Exaltation on Thoth 17 (Sept. 14), which alone is now celebrated in the Greek Church, though the Menol. Basil. also records the Apparition of the Cross on May 7. There was probably no *σύναξις* on Phamenoth 10, which falls on a Thursday in Lent (cf. p. 30), and whether even apart from that circumstance there would have been a festival in connexion with the Cross is doubtful.

In the Julian equivalents of Egyptian days appended to the text the numbers in brackets give the dates in an ordinary year which was not bissextile; cf. p. 20.

Col. i.

		+ *Γνῶσις συνάξεων μετὰ τὸ κατελθ(εῖν)*		
ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ		*ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ(εί᾽α) τὸν πάπα, οὕ(τως)·*		
Φαῶφι	*κγ*	*εἰς τὴν Φοιβάμμωνος κυριακ(ήν),*	A.D. 535.	Oct. 21 (20) Sun.
	κε	*εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Σερῆνον ἡμέρ(α) μεταν(οίας),*		23 (22) Tues.
5	*λ*	*εἰς τὴν μαρτύρ(ων) κυριακή,*		28 (27) Sun.
Ἁθὺρ	*γ*	*εἰς τὴν Φοιβάμμωνος ἡμέρ(α) Ἐπιμάχ(ου),*		31 (30) Wed.
	ζ	*εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστ(ὴν) κυριακή,*		Nov. 4 (3) Sun.
	ιβ	*εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Μιχαηλᾶ ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ,*		9 (8) Fri.
	ιγ	*εἰς τὸν αὐτόν,*		10 (9) Sat.
10	*ιδ*	*εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Ἰοῦστον ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ,*		11 (10) Sun.
	ιε	*εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Μηνᾶν ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ,*		12 (11) Mon.
	ις	*εἰς τὸν αὐτόν,* — — —		13 (12) Tues.
	ιζ	*εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Ἰο[ῦ]ṣτον,*		14 (13) Wed.
[*Χοίακ*]		6 lines lost.		
20	*ζ*	*εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Βίκτορα,*		Dec. 4 (3) Tues.
	[ι]β	*εἰς τὴν Ἀννιανῆς κ[υρια]κή,*		9 (8) Sun.

	ιε	εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Κοσμᾶ ἡ[μέ]ρα Ἰσίωνος,	12 (11) Wed.
	ιθ	εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστ[(ὴν) κ]υριακ(ή),	16 (15) Sun.
	κβ	εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Φιλόξεν[ο]ν ἡμέρ(α) αὐτοῦ,	19 (18) Wed.
25	κγ	εἰς τὸν αὐτόν, _ _	20 (19) Thur.
	κδ	εἰς τὸν αὐτόν,	21 (20) Fri.
	κε	ὁμοίως εἰς τὸν αὐτόν,	22 (21) Sat.
	κϛ	εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Σε[ρ]ῆνον κυριακ(ή),	23 (22) Sun.
	κζ	εἰς τὸν αὐτόν, _ _ _	24 (23) Mon.
30	κη	εἰς τὴν ἁγί(αν) Μαρίαν γέννα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,	25 (24) Tues.
	κθ	εἰς τὴν αὐτήν, _ _ _	26 (25) Wed.
	λ	εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοίως,	27 (26) Thur.

Col. ii.

Τῦβι	α	εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Πέτρ[ον ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ,	Dec. 28 (27) Fri.
		ὁμ(οίως) κ(αὶ) εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) [Παῦλον ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ,	
35	γ	εἰς τὴν Φοιβάμμ[ωνος κυριακή,	30 (29) Sun.
	ια	εἰς τὴν Φοιβάμμ[ωνος ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ Χριστοῦ, A.D. 536.	Jan. 7 (6) Mon.
	ιβ	εἰς τὴν νοτινὴ[ν ἐκκλησίαν,	8 (7) Tues.
	ιγ	εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Φιλόξ[ενον,	9 (8) Wed.
	ιδ	εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Μ[ι]χ[αηλᾶ ἡμέρα . . . . .,	10 (9) Thur.
40		εἰς τὴν ἅμα [Ἡραίδος ἡμέρα αὐτῆς (?),	
	ιε	εἰς τὴν ἁγί(αν) Εὐφ[ημίαν ἡμέρα . . . . .,	11 (10) Fri.
		εἰς τὸν εὐαγ[γελιστ(ήν),	
	ις	εἰς τὴν Φοιβάμ[μωνος ἡμέρα Φιλοθέου (?)	12 (11) Sat.
	ιζ	εἰς τὴν Ἀννια[νῆς κυριακή,	13 (12) Sun.
45	κα	εἰς τὴν ἁγί(αν) Μα[ρίαν ἡμέρα αὐτῆς (?),	17 (16) Thur.
	[κδ	εἰς τὸν ἅγ]ι(ον) Ἰε[ρημίαν κυριακή (?),	20 (19) Sun.
	[κ .	εἰς τὸν βα]πτισ[τήν,	
[Μεχειρ	α(?)	εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον)] Ἰουλ[ιανὸν ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ (?),	27 (26) Sun.
	[.	εἰς τὸν ἅγι](ον) ἀββ[ᾶ . . . . . ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ (?),	
50	[	ὁμοί(ως) κ(αὶ) εἰς] τὸ β[ορρινὸν μαρτύριον (?),	
	[.	ε]ἰς [τὴν ἁγ]ί(αν) Εὐφη[μίαν,	
	[η]	εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Ζαχ[αρίαν κυριακή (?),	Feb. 3 (2) Sun.
	θ	εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Σερ[ῆνον,	4 (3) Mon.
	ια	εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Γαβρ[ιὴλ ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ (?),	6 (5) Wed.

55 [ιβ] εἰς τὸν αὐτόν, 7 (6) Thur.
[ιδ?] εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) ἅπα Νοὺπ ἡμέρ[α . . . . . 9 (8) Sat.
[ι]ε̣ εἰς τὴν Φοιβάμ[μωνος κυριακή, 10 (9) Sun.
κα εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Φιλ[όξενον ἡμέρα . . . . ., 16 (15) Sat.
ὁμ(οίως) καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅ̣[γι(ον) . . . . . .,
60 κ[β] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [κυριακή, 17 (16) Sun.
κ[η] εἰς τὴν νοτιν(ὴν) ἐ̣κ̣[κλησίαν ἡμέρα . . . . ., 23 (22) Sat.
κ̣θ̣ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν [κυριακή, 24 (23) Sun.
Φαμενὼθ [ϛ?] εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Θεό[δοτον ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ (?), March 2 Sun.
[ιβ?] εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Φιλόξ̣[ενον ἡμέρα . . . ., 8 Sat.
65 [ιγ?] εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον) Θε[όδωρον ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ, 9 Sun.
[ιθ?] εἰς τὴν Φοιβ[άμμωνος ἡμέρα Κολλούθου (?), 15 Sat.
[κ?] εἰς τὴν αὐτ[ὴν κυριακή (?), 16 Sun.
[κϛ(?) ε]ἰς τὴν ἁγί[(αν) Μαρίαν ἡμέρα . . . . .(?) 22 Sat.

Perhaps 1 line lost.

2. ἰνδ/ Π. 10. ἰουστον Π. 13. ἰο[υ]στον Π. 22. ἰσιωνος Π. 46. ἰε[Π. 48. ἰουλ[Π.

'List of services after the patriarch descended to Alexandria, as follows: 14th indiction, Phaophi 23rd at Phoebammon's, Sunday; 25th at St. Serenus', day of Repentance; 30th at the Martyrs', Sunday.

Hathur 3rd at Phoebammon's, day of Epimachus; 7th at the Evangelist's, Sunday; 12th at St. Michael's, his day; 13th at the same; 14th at St. Justus', his day; 15th at St. Menas', his day; 16th at the same; 17th at St. Justus'; . . .

Choiak . . .; 7th at St. Victor's; 12th at Anniane's, Sunday; 15th at St. Cosmas', day of Ision; 19th at the Evangelist's, Sunday; 22nd at St. Philoxenus', his day; 23rd at the same; 24th at the same; 25th likewise at the same; 26th at St. Serenus', Sunday; 27th at the same; 28th at St. Mary's, Nativity of Christ; 29th at the same; 30th at the same likewise.

Tubi 1st at St. Peter's, his day; likewise also at St. Paul's, his day; 3rd at Phoebammon's, Sunday; 11th at Phoebammon's, Epiphany of Christ; 12th at the Southern church; 13th at St. Philoxenus'; 14th at St. Michael's, day of . . .; at ama Heraïs', her day; 15th at St. Euphemia's, day of . . .; at the Evangelist's; 16th at Phoebammon's, day of Philotheus; 17th at Anniane's, Sunday; 21st at St. Mary's, her day; 24th at St. Jeremiah's, Sunday; 2[.]th at the Baptist's.

Mecheir 1st at St. Julianus', his day; . . . at St. abba . . ., his day; likewise at the Northern Martyr's shrine; . . . at St. Euphemia's; 8th at St. Zacharias', Sunday; 9th at St. Serenus'; 11th at St. Gabriel's, his day; 12th at the same; 14th at St. apa Noup's, day of . . .; 15th at Phoebammon's, Sunday; 21st at St. Philoxenus', day of . . .; likewise also at St. . . .; 22nd at the same, Sunday; 28th at the Southern church, day of . . .; 29th at the same, Sunday.

Phamenoth 6th at St. Theodotus', his day; 12th at St. Philoxenus', day of . . .; 13th at St. Theodorus', his day; 19th at Phoebammon's, day of Colluthus; 20th at the same, Sunday; 26th at St. Mary's, day of . . .'

1. Cf. pp. 21–2. *ἐν* instead of *εἰς* is common; cf. e. g. **144.** 11 *καταγαγεῖν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ* and, for an early instance, P. Par. 10. 2 *ἀνακεχώρηκεν ἐν Ἀλεξ.*

2. *ιδ*: the *ι* is partly effaced, but *ἰνδ(ι)κ(τίονος) δ* cannot be read, even apart from the difficulty that would arise concerning the date, since Phaophi 23 did not fall on a Sunday of the 4th indiction between 390 and 675, both of which years are unsuitable; cf. p. 20.

πάπα: the writer is fond of using this genitival form for the accusative; cf. l. 8 *Μιχαηλᾶ* and l. 22 *Κοσμᾶ*. For the name of the patriarch see pp. 21 and 43.

3. *Φοιβάμμωνος*: cf. pp. 23–5. This day was probably not All Saints' (cf. p. 31), and St. Dionysius of Corinth, martyr under Diocletian, and the prophet Joel, formerly honoured on Phaophi 23 (Nau and Tisserand, *l. c.*), are ignored.

κυριακ(ή): this word and *ἡμέρα*, wherever they come in Π, might be in the dative, but *γέννα* in l. 30 is in the nominative.

4. *Σερῆνον*: cf. ll. 28–9 and 53, **1151.** 47, and B. G. U. 954. 3, 29 (Heracleopolis). A Nitrian abbot visited by Cassianus in 395 and author of two extant discourses is less likely to be meant than a disciple of Origen, martyr under Severus according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 4). The amba Serenus, archimandrite, and Serenus, *ἡγούμενος*, formerly commemorated on Phamenoth 5 and 6 (Tisserand, *l. c.*) seem to be later. On the question of St. Serenus' day cf. ll. 20 and 53, notes, and for *ἡμέρα μετανοίας* cf. p. 26. On Phaophi 25 (Oct. 22) the Coptic calendars commemorate two eremites of the Thebaid and St. Julius of Aḳfâhs, martyr under Diocletian; cf. p. 39.

5. *μαρτύρ(ων)*: there was a well-known Coptic monastery of this name at Esna (Latopolis), and a church *τριῶν μαρτύρων* at Arsinoë is mentioned in e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 113 (8). 11, and one *τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτ(υρος)* at a village near Antinoë in Crum, P. Brit. Mus. Coptic, p. 450. The Coptic calendars on Phaophi 30 (Oct. 27) commemorate SS. Abraham, a Syrian anchorite (fourth century?), Valens, Anatolius (date uncertain), and a Julius and others, martyrs under Decius; the Greek church St. Capitolina, martyr under Diocletian, and St. Nestor (*ob.* 306), and two days earlier (Oct. 25) SS. Marcianus and Martyrius (fourth century), whom Wüstenfeld's and the modern Coptic calendars assign to Oct. 28, calling Martyrius Mercurius. *Μαρτυρ(ίου)* could be read, and in that case he would stand in the same position as Phoebammon, who became a regular saint; cf. pp. 23–5. *Μαρτυρ(ιανοῦ)*, referring to a saint now honoured by the Copts on Pachon 21, is also possible; but since there is a doubt whether there ever was a Coptic saint Martyrius, and Martyrianus' day is far removed from Phaophi 30, we prefer *μαρτύρ(ων)* in view of the parallels and the rarity of abbreviations of proper names in Π. Moreover if Phaophi 30 had been the day of Martyri(an)us, *ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ* would be expected in spite of its being Sunday; cf. l. 10.

6. *ἡμέρα Ἐπιμάχου*: cf. pp. 24 and 26–7. Wüstenfeld's calendar commemorates on this day SS. Cyriacus (fourth century), and Athanasius and Irene, martyrs under Diocletian; Morcelli's calendar Cyriacus; the Menol. Basil. Epimachus and Eutropia.

7. *τὸν εὐαγγελιστ(ήν)*: cf. pp. 25–6, and, on the date of the festival of St. John, p. 31. A church at Arsinoë was called *τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου* simply; cf. P. Stud. Pal. x. 75. 6. St. George of Alexandria (fourth century?, not the soldier), who is celebrated on this day in the Coptic calendars, is ignored.

8–11. Cf. p. 27. *Μιχαηλᾶ* is not a correct form; cf. l. 2, note. The other saints now honoured on Hathur 12–15 are unimportant. From P. S. I. 63. 25 sqq. it appears that the whole festival of St. Michael lasted eight days or more, since an ageeement was made to repay a loan at Oxyrhynchus on the 8th day *τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μ[ιχ]αὴλ τοῦ*

Ἀθὺρ μηνός. There was a church of St. Michael at Arsinoë (e. g. P. Klein. Form. 845), as well as at Alexandria (p. 25). For other mentions of St. Justus' church see p. 23.

12. The lines after αὐτόν (cf. ll. 25, 29, 31) are merely intended to fill up space, not to indicate a repetition of ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ.

13. In the Greek and Coptic Churches Nov. 13 (Hathur 17) is the *obit* of St. John Chrysostom, the translation of his relics being celebrated on Jan. 27 by the Greeks, but on Nov. 13 by the Copts, who also commemorate his death on Pachon 12 (May 7). For Ἰο[ῦ]στον cf. l. 10; we are unable to reconcile the three doubtful letters with Ἰά[κ]ωβον or the name of any other Greek or Coptic saint, but this second σύναξις at St. Justus', for which no special reason is assigned, is remarkable. A similar difficulty arises in ll. 20 and 29, where it can be explained by the supposed omission of ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ; but that is inadmissible here, if Ἰο[ῦ]στον is right, since his day has already occurred in l. 10.

14–19. Three of these lines probably recorded services on the Sundays Hathur 21, 28, and Choiak 5 (cf. p. 22), and the remaining three some of the festivals of SS. Cosmas (l. 22, note), Philip the Apostle (Hathur 18 = Nov. 14 in both the Greek and Coptic churches), Matthew the Apostle (Hathur 20 = Nov. 16 in a thirteenth century Coptic calendar; cf. Nau, *l. c.*), Anianus, second patriarch of Alexandria (the same day in the Coptic calendars), Andrew the Apostle (Choiak 4 = Nov. 30 in both the Coptic and Greek churches), who probably had a monastery at Oxyrhynchus (**146. 1, 147. 1**), and Peter of Alexandria, martyr under Diocletian (Hathur 29 = Nov. 25 in the Coptic calendars; cf. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, i, p. 263).

20. Βίκτορα: cf. **1151.** 49 and two inscriptions from Bawît in Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts*, pp. 143–4, where SS. Victor, Phoebammon (cf. pp. 23–5), Menas (cf. l. 11), and George come at the head of lists of saints. εὐκτήρια of St. Victor are known at Lycopolis (P. Cairo Maspero i. 67006. 56) and Syene (P. Munich 9. 37); a church at Aphrodito (P. Brit. Mus. 1572, &c.); a λαύρα at Arsinoë was called after him (i. e. his church; P. Klein. Form. 675. 2, &c.), and he is often mentioned in Coptic texts, but which of the five (?) different saints of this name occurring in the modern Coptic calendar was meant in l. 20 is not clear. Abul-Barakât's list (Tisserand, *l. c.*) mentions only one (Epeiph 20 = July 14), Nau's menologia the same one and two more (Hathur 5 = Nov. 1 and Mesore 24 = Aug. 17), but none of these days corresponds with any of the eight dates in the modern calendar (Hathur 1, 10, 21, 27, Choiak 6, Mecheir 14, Pharmouthi 4, 27) on which a Victor is mentioned. Choiak 7 in l. 20 suggests a connexion with the bishop Victor coupled with the presbyter Anatolius (date?) on Choiak 6; but if this Victor had been mentioned in l. 19, εἰς τὸν αὐτόν would be expected in l. 20 on the analogy of e. g. ll. 8–9, while, if the date of the commemoration has merely altered by a day (cf. the case of Epimachus, pp. 26–7), ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ is wanted in l. 20. It is possible that the omission is accidental here and in l. 28, a hypothesis which would remove the similar difficulty in l. 29, where the second σύναξις at St. Serenus' (on a Monday) is hard to account for if the preceding Sunday was not his day. But in view of the inapplicability of this explanation to l. 13 (cf. note), we hesitate to postulate an inconsistency between ll. 10 and 28 with regard to the choice of κυριακή and ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ, so that it remains doubtful whether Choiak 7 has anything to do with a festival in honour of St. Victor. Hence he is probably identical with the so-called son of Romanus, martyr under Diocletian, whose day is Pharmouthi 27 and who was the most important Victor; cf. Amélineau, *Les actes des martyrs*, pp. 177 sqq. On Choiak 7 the mediaeval Coptic calendars celebrate several unimportant saints, the modern calendar Heraclas 8th patriarch of Alexandria, the Menol. Basil. St. Theodore of Egypt, Theodulus of Cyprus, and the prophet Zephaniah.

21. Ἀννιανῆς: cf. l. 44 and p. 25. The name Ἀνειανή occurs in Lefebvre, *Inscript. chrét.* no. 65. St. Anne, mother of the Virgin, who is commemorated in Wüstenfeld's and

the modern Coptic calendar on Hathur 11 (Nov. 7), in Nau's and the modern on Choiak 13 (Dec. 9, the Conception), and in all Coptic calendars together with the Greek Menol. Basil. on Mesore 1 (July 25), and by the Menol. Basil. also on Sept. 9, is hardly likely to be meant, though Choiak 12 comes near to the feast of the Conception; for apart from the doubt about the early date of that festival, which cannot be traced back further than the seventh or eighth century (Nilles, *op. cit.* p. 349), the two *συνάξεις* at Anniane's church were both on a Sunday and so need imply no special festival. Procopius (*De aedif.* i. 3) states that Justinian erected a church in honour of St. Anne, but though the Latin Church did not celebrate her till much later, the insertion of *ἁγίας* would be expected, if she were meant. July 25 is most likely to have been her day at Oxyrhynchus, if she was commemorated.

22. Κοσμᾶ ἡ[μέ]ρα Ἰσίωνος: cf. l. 2, note, and p. 27. The dedication of a church to St. Cosmas without St. Damian is noticeable. The Greek Church since the tenth century distinguishes three pairs of these saints (1) July 1, Romans martyred under Carinus, (2) Oct. 17, Arabs martyred under Diocletian, (3) Nov. 1, Asiatics, sons of Theodote, apparently later. The Coptic church since the thirteenth century celebrates the Arabs on Hathur 22 (Nov. 18) and the Romans on Pauni 22 (June 16); a third commemoration in the modern Coptic calendar on Choiak 1 (Nov. 27) seems to refer to the Asiatics. Hathur 22 and Choiak 1 come in the period covered by the lacuna in ll. 14–19, where *εἰς τὸν ἅγιον* Κοσμᾶ *ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ* may well have occurred on the first of these two dates. The saints honoured by the Coptic Church on Choiak 15 are not important.

23. Cf. l. 7, note. On Choiak 19 (Dec. 15) the Coptic calendars mention St. John, *ἡγούμενος* (i.e. John, archimandrite of Siût about 400), and Theophania.

24–7. St. Philoxenus, who is also mentioned in **1150**. 2 (sixth century), **1151**. 48 (fifth century?) and P. Stud. Pal. x. 35. 11 (cf. p. 24), is either an otherwise unknown Egyptian saint or identical with the monophysite bishop of Hierapolis (*ob.* about 523), who is honoured in the mediaeval Syrian Jacobite menologia on Feb. 18 (Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 72) and other days. The four *συνάξεις* in his honour (one more than at Christmas) indicate his great popularity, which would harmonize with the shortness of the interval between his death and the date of Π, if the bishop of Hierapolis is meant; but **1151** must in that case be later than 523. The day of St. Gabriel the archangel, Choiak 22 in the Coptic calendars, may have been Mecheir 11; cf. pp. 29–30. The other saints honoured by the Copts or Greeks on Choiak 22–5 are not important.

28–9. For St. Serenus cf. l. 4, note, and, for the two consecutive *συνάξεις* at his church, l. 20, note. Choiak 26 (Dec. 22) in the Coptic and Greek calendars is the day of St. Anastasia, martyr under Diocletian, and in Basset's mediaeval Coptic synaxarium of abba Hieracion, who had a church at Oxyrhynchus (cf. l. 46, note, and p. 24), but is here ignored. Choiak 27 in the Coptic calendars is the day of Psote and Callinicus, bishops of the Thebaid and martyrs under Diocletian.

30–1. For Christmas Day cf. pp. 20 and 28, and, for *γέννα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, P. Grenf. ii. 112 (*a*). 1 Χ(ριστὸ)ς Μαρία *γέννα καὶ* Μαρία Χ(ριστὸ)ς *γέννα καὶ* Χ(ριστὸ)ς Μαρία *γέννα*, which seems to be connected with the much disputed formula *χμγ*. *γέννα* there, as here, is probably a substantive, Μαρία being a mistake for Μαρίας. A *κηπίον* of the church of St. Mary is mentioned in **147**. 1.

32. On Choiak 30 (Dec. 26) the Coptic calendars commemorate David and St. James, bishop of Jerusalem (cf. p. 31), as well as the second day of the Nativity, while the Greek Church commemorates the Virgin (Flight to Egypt; cf. p. 19 and l. 45) and others.

33–4. For the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, or less probably St. Stephen, see pp. 28–9. In the mediaeval Coptic and Greek calendars the day of SS. Peter and Paul is Epeiph 5 (June 29) and St. Peter now has his own days on Mesore 7 (July 31) and Jan. 16. Numerous other saints called Peter are celebrated by the Copts, but not on any

day close to Tubi 1. A church of St. Peter at Arsinoë occurs in P. Stud. Pal. x. 75. 3. Other saints commemorated on Tubi 1 by the Copts include, besides St. Stephen, St. Leontius the Syrian, martyr under Maximian, after whom was named a hospital at Hermopolis (P. Klein. Form. 314. 1, unless the reference there is to St. Leontius the Arab), Paul bishop of Ephesus, and Ischyrion and Aesculapius, who with 8,140 companions were martyred at Panopolis.

35. Cf. p. 29.

36. For the Epiphany cf. p. 29. In the mediaeval and modern Coptic Church this festival is preceded by a vigil (cf. p. 28) and continues for three days, but since the *συνάξεις* on the six following days here were at different churches, the presumption is rather against their being connected with the Epiphany.

37. *νοτινὴ[ν ἐκκλησίαν*: cf. l. 61, p. 23, and l. 47, note. There was a church of this name at Aphrodito; cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 1419. 526, where the editor has overlooked the parallel from **43** verso. St. Theodorus Orientalis, martyr under Diocletian, whose *Acts* are extant, is celebrated by the Copts on Tubi 12, and *ἡμέρα Θεοδώρου* may have occurred here, since the church of St. Theodorus (cf. ll. 63–6, note) probably refers to a different saint of that name.

38. *Φιλόξ[ενον*: cf. ll. 24–7, note. *Φιλόθ[εον* (cf. l. 43, note) is unsuitable. On Tubi 13 (Jan. 8) the Coptic calendars commemorate the first miracle at Cana and sometimes St. Theophilus, whom the Menol. Basil. also mentions on this day, and St. Menas (cf. l. 11).

39. *Μ[ι]χ[αηλ*: cf. l. 8. Tubi 14 (Jan. 9) is in the Coptic calendars the day of Maximus, who is apparently identical with the monk of St. Macarius honoured with Domitius three days later, and sometimes the day of Archelides and Irene (date uncertain), while the early Greek calendars commemorate St. Polyeuctus (*ob.* in Armenia about 259).

40. *ἅμα [Ἡραίδος*: cf. p. 24. Her day was subsequently a fortnight later.

41. *Εὐφ[ημίαν*: cf. l. 51 and pp. 23–4. She was an important saint whose day in the mediaeval Coptic and Greek calendars is Epeiph 18 (July 12) and in the modern Coptic one Epeiph 17 (July 11) and Pauni 8 (June 2) as well, so that *ἡμέρα αὐτῆς* is unlikely either here or in l. 51. On Tubi 15 Wüstenfeld's calendar mentions the prophet Obadiah and a fourth-century St. Gregory (not of Nyssa); the modern calendar Cyriacus and Julitta, martyrs under Diocletian; the Menol. Basil. SS. Gregory of Nyssa (*ob.* about 395), Domitianus (*ob.* about 600), and Marcianus.

42. Cf. l. 7 and pp. 25–6.

43. On Tubi 16 (Jan. 11) the Coptic calendars all commemorate St. Philotheus, martyr under Diocletian, and since a church called after him is several times mentioned in the Aphrodito papyri (e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 1572. 9), and, as Mr. Crum informs us, in unpublished Coptic texts from Thebes, his day is likely to have been mentioned here.

44. *Ἀννια[νῆς*: cf. l. 21, note, and p. 25. On Tubi 17 the Coptic calendars mention St. Maximus (cf. l. 39, note), the companion of St. Domitius, the Menol. Basil. SS. Tatiana, martyr under Severus Alexander, Meorteus, martyr under Diocletian, and Athanasius. But *ἡμέρα αὐτῆς* would be more likely than a mention of any of these, and *κυριακή* is still more probable.

45. *κα*: cf. p. 29. The Coptic calendars commemorate, besides the Virgin, Hilaria, daughter of the Emperor Zeno, St. Gregory of Nyssa (cf. l. 41, note), and St. Agnes (third century).

46. *Ἱε[ρημίαν*: i. e. the prophet Jeremiah, whose day in the Coptic calendars is Thoth 8 (Sept. 5) or Pachon 5 (April 30), in the Greek Church May 1, so that *ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ* is unlikely. A monastery dedicated to him near Memphis (P. Stud. Pal. x. 295–8) has been recently excavated by Quibell, and another, in the Thinite pagarchy, is known from P. Brit. Mus. 1460. 12. *Ἱε[ρώνυμον*, whom the Copts honour on Phamenoth 15 (March 11) or Thoth 20

(Sept. 17), and Ἱέ[ρακα, an Egyptian martyr mentioned in the Syriac calendar of 411 on June 15, who is different from a Nitrian monk contemporary with Chrysostom and formerly celebrated by the Greek Church (Nilles, *op. cit.* ii, p. 43), are less likely; but Ἱε[ρακίωνα (who might be identical with the Syriac Hierax) ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ is possible; cf. p. 24. His church, however, may be the one meant in l. 49, where ἅγι](ον) ἀββᾶ [Ἱερακίωνα can be restored, but the occurrence of ἅγιος, which is absent in **1053**, is a slight objection to introducing him in either passage. This saint's day, moreover, was Choiak 26 (Dec. 22) in the fourteenth century according to Basset's synaxarium (*Patrol. Orient.* iii, p. 525). He lived in the reign of Diocletian and escaped from captivity at Oxyrhynchus (Amélineau, *op. cit.* p. 83). The number of the day in l. 46 is doubtful, κδ being restored because a Sunday is wanted in l. 46 or 47 before the Sunday which is apparently accounted for in l. 48. St. Antony the Great is honoured by both Copts and Greeks on Tubi 22 (Jan. 17), and if l. 46 refers to that day, he may well have been mentioned. Line 47 would then probably refer to Tubi 24. On that day (Jan. 19) the mediaeval Coptic calendars mention SS. Mary, a nun, Apa Psote, and Demetrius, the modern one commemorates St. Mercurius of Alexandria, while the Menol. Basil. mentions amongst others St. Macarius, a famous Egyptian saint (*ob.* 391; cf. l. 47, note).

47. τὸν βα]πτισ[τήν: cf. pp. 25–6. His execution is commemorated by the Copts on Thoth 2 (Aug. 30), by the Greek Church on Aug. 29; his conception by both on Thoth 26 (Sept. 23); his nativity by both on Pauni 30 (June 24); the finding of his head by both on Mecheir 30 (Feb. 24), and that of his bones by the Copts on Thoth 16 (Sept. 13) or Pauni 2 (May 27), by the Greeks on May 25; the deposition of his head on Phaophi 29 (Oct. 26) by the Copts; his incarceration on ἐπαγομ. 1 (Aug. 24) by the Copts, the general σύναξις in his honour being on Jan. 7 (Tubi 12) in the Greek Church. The last is the only date at all near that in l. 47, which cannot be earlier than Tubi 23 or later than Mecheir 4 and was probably a week-day between the two Sundays Tubi 24 and Mecheir 1; cf. the next note. The σύναξις on Tubi 12 (l. 37), which was at the Southern church, is not likely to be connected with a festival of the Baptist, and, Mecheir 30 not being available, since there was no σύναξις on that day, the only place in Π which is at all suitable for a festival in his honour is l. 47; but his day is more likely to have been Thoth 2 or Pauni 30, outside the range of Π. The Coptic Church does not celebrate any very important saints from Tubi 23 to 30, St. Macarius (cf. l. 46, note) being honoured on Tubi 8 or Phamenoth 27 or later.

48. Ἰουλ[ιανόν: a Sunday service on Mecheir 1 is expected between ll. 47 and 51, and since Ἰούδ[αν, i. e. the Apostle, who is honoured on that day in the mediaeval Coptic calendars, cannot be read, the choice lies between Ἰουλ[ιανόν and Ἰούλ[ιον. A church of St. Julius at Arsinoë is known from P. Klein. Form. 743. If Ἰούλ[ιον be read, St. Julius of Aḳfâhs, the historian and martyr under Diocletian, whose *Acts* are known (Amélineau, *op. cit.* pp. 123 sqq.) and whose day is Thoth 22 (Sept. 19), is more likely to be meant than St. Julius bishop of Rome in 336–52 (now Mecheir 3, but not in the mediaeval calendars), or a third Julius, martyr under Decius (Phaophi 25, 27, or 30). Hence ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ would be unlikely, unless l. 48 be referred to Mecheir 3, the festival of the Roman St. Julius. In that case l. 47 might refer to Mecheir 1, and the week-days between the two Sundays in ll. 46–7 would be passed over, which is not a very satisfactory hypothesis, since Lent had not yet begun (cf. p. 30). On Mecheir 1, however, the Coptic Church commemorates St. Julianus, martyr with 5,000 companions, and although he is not mentioned in the mediaeval calendars, we on the whole prefer Ἰουλ[ιανόν to Ἰούλ[ιον, since the choice of the church would be accounted for, if it was his day.

49. Probably either ἀββ[ᾶ Ἱερακίωνα (cf. l. 46, note), or ἀββ[ᾶ Παῦλον ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ, referring to the chief of the eremites (*ob.* 341), who is celebrated in the mediaeval and

modern Coptic calendars on Mecheir 2 (Jan. 27), the approximate date of this line, or *ἀββ[ᾶ Μάρκελλον* (cf. P. Stud. Pal. x. 35 and p. 24), who is perhaps the Marcellus mentioned on Epeiph 22 of Nau's calendar but has disappeared from the modern one.

50. For [*εἰς τὸν ἅγι(ον)*] Τοβ[*ίαν*, i. e. Τωβ[*ίαν*, there is barely room, and cf. p. 23. *τὸ β[ορρινὸν μαρτύριον* is more likely than e. g. *τὸ* Β[*ασιλίου* or Β[*αρσαύμου*, a bishop of Edessa commemorated on Mecheir 9 in the mediaeval Coptic calendars; but]*τοβ*[can be part of a proper name in the genitive, like *Φοιβάμμωνος* (cf. p. 23), preceded by *εἰς τήν*. In that case *Ἀρισ*]*τοβ*[*ούλου*, one of the seventy-two disciples, now honoured by the Copts on Phamenoth 19 but absent from the mediaeval Coptic calendars, might be meant. *σ*, however, rather than *τ*, would then be expected to come over the *ι* of *ἁγ*]*ί*(*αν*) in l. 51, and on Phamenoth 19 there seems to have been a *σύναξις* at Phoebammon's church (l. 66).

51. Cf. l. 41, note. The saints commemorated by the Copts and Greeks from Mecheir 4 to 7 are not particularly important.

52. [*η*]: this is restored because the 9th (l. 53) was a Monday, so that a Sunday is wanted here. The day of St. Zachariah father of the Baptist is Thoth 8 (Sept. 5) in the mediaeval Coptic and Greek calendars; Z. the prophet is commemorated on Hathur 4 (Oct. 31) and Mecheir 14 (Feb. 8; so also the Menol. Basil.), a martyr Z. on Choiak 4 (Nov. 30), Z. of Antioch on Pachon 20 (May 15) and Z. an eremite on Pachon 26 (May 21) or Phaophi 13 (Oct 10). Of these the festival of the prophet Zachariah on Mecheir 14 is much the nearest to Mecheir 8, and *ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ* is possible; but the latter day (Feb. 2) coincides with the festival known in Eastern churches as *ὑπαπαντή*, i. e. Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and in the Western as the Purification of the Virgin. In the East this festival can be traced back to 350–400 (Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 272), and the universal observance of it in the Eastern Empire was ordained by Justinian in 542 (Niceph. *Hist. Eccl.* xvii. 28), only six years after Π was written, so that there may have been a reference to it here instead of *κυριακή* (cf. l. 10). Since in the East this festival has always been one of Christ rather than the Virgin, the selection of another church than St. Mary's would be intelligible, especially if St. Zachariah is the father of the Baptist. St. Simeon *ὁ Θεοδόχος* and St. Anne (cf. l. 21, note) are also honoured by the Copts on Mecheir 8, and by the Greeks on the next day (Feb. 3), but a mention of one of them is less likely here than *κυριακή* or *ὑπαπαντή*.

53. Σερ[*ῆνον*: cf. l. 4, note. Σερ[*απίωνα* or Σέρ[*γιον* are also possible. A similar difficulty arises in P. Klein. Form. 627. 1 *ἁγί*(*ου*) Σερ[(Arsinoite nome). The day of St. Sergius of Athribis, martyr under Diocletian, is Mecheir 13, only four days later than the date in l. 53, so that *ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ* might be supplied with Σέρ[*γιον* also. St. Sergius, companion of St. Bacchus, a Syrian martyr under Maximian, is honoured by both the Greek and Coptic churches on Phaophi 10 (Oct. 7). The Coptic calendars celebrate a Serapion, bishop of Niciu (fourth century), on Hathur 27 or 28 (which falls in the period of the lacuna in ll. 14–19); another, a martyr under Diocletian, whose *Acts* are extant (*Script. Copt.* iii. 1. iv), on Tubi 27 (twelve days before Mecheir 9), and a third Serapion on *ἐπαγομ.* 1 (Aug. 24). But St. Serenus is much more likely to have been mentioned than any of these. On Mecheir 9 the Copts commemorate Paul, a Syrian martyr (fourth century); cf. l. 52, note.

54–5. Cf. pp. 23 and 29–30 and ll. 24–7, note. A *πρε*(*σβύτερος*) *τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου* Γαβριήλ in the Arsinoite nome is known from P. Stud. Pal. x. 177. 6. The various Coptic calendars on Mecheir 11 mention SS. James son of Alphaeus (cf. p. 31), Basilides, Justus son of the Emperor Numerianus (cf. p. 27), and Palatianus, bishop of Rome (third century), and on the 12th the Archangel Michael (cf. l. 8) and SS. Fabianus, bishop of Rome (*ob.* 250), and Gelasius (*ob.* 496).

56. *ἅπα* Νοὺπ *ἡμέρ*[*α* . . .: part of the *ν* of Νούπ and the rest of the line were on a separate fragment, which is suitably though not certainly placed here. The day is

probably Mecheir 13 or 14, for it cannot be earlier, and if it is later, ι]θ must be read for ι]ε in l. 57, to which there are objections. The various saints honoured in Mecheir by the Coptic and Greek churches do not include any whose name begins with N or ἄπα N[, but the martyrdom of Anub under Diocletian is commemorated by the Copts on Pauni 19 (June 13) and formerly by the Greeks (Nilles, *op. cit.* ii, p. 42) on June 5, while an abba Nub or Anub, presbyter and martyr under Diocletian, whose *Acts* are extant (*Script. Copt.* iii. 1. ix), is celebrated by the Copts on Pauni 23 and sometimes on Epeiph 24 (July 11) also. If the position assigned to the fragment is correct, abba Nub is doubtless meant and ἡμέρ[α αὐτοῦ is unlikely; but if it goes elsewhere, i. e. in ll. 14–19 or 59 or in a later column (cf. p. 20), either Ἀ]νούπ or ἄπα] Νούπ can be read, and ἡμέρ[α αὐτοῦ might be right. ἄπα N[ούπ would, however, still be the best restoration in l. 56. Ἀνούπ is a very common Byzantine name, so that ἄπ⟨α⟩ Ἀνούπ should perhaps be read, possibly referring to the colleague of Apollo at Bawît; but cf. Crum, P. Rylands Copt. 461. 28–9, where apa Noub occurs.

The paragraphi above and below l. 56, elsewhere employed only at the end of a month in l. 5, draw special attention to this day as for some reason of exceptional importance. Since the σύναξις was not at St. Mary's, a festival of the Virgin (cf. p. 29) is unlikely, and of the Coptic saints honoured on Mecheir 13–14 (Feb. 8–9) Severus, patriarch of Antioch, or the prophet Zachariah (cf. l. 52, note) are the most likely to have been mentioned. In the Greek calendar Feb. 8 is the day of St. Theodorus the Great, στρατηλάτης, whom the Copts commemorate on Epeiph 20 (July 14) and who is probably not the St. Theodorus of l. 65; St. Cyril is honoured by the Latins on Feb. 9 as well as Jan. 28, while in the Coptic Church his days are Thoth 12 (Sept. 9) and Epeiph 3 (June 27) and in the Greek Jan. 18 and June 9. But none of these seems important enough to account for the paragraphi, which may well be connected with the circumstance that Lent began in 536 on Mecheir 16 (cf. p. 30). Mecheir 14 would be the last week-day before Lent, and this may have given a special importance to the σύναξις, whether the day was that of a saint, or 'of Repentance' as in l. 4, or had a title of its own.

57. [ι]ε: the vestiges suit ε rather better than θ, which is the only alternative (cf. l. 56, note), and the 15th being a Sunday is wanted either here or in l. 56. If it came in l. 56, the suggested explanation of the paragraphi would still apply, perhaps even better; but a σύναξις on Mecheir 19 would be on a Thursday, whereas in ll. 59–68 the evidence, so far as it goes, points to συνάξεις on Saturdays and Sundays only. Mecheir 15 is in the mediaeval and modern Coptic calendars the day of St. Papnuthius, a well-known saint who had a church or monastery at Aphrodito (P. Brit. Mus. 1420. 204), so that ἡμέρα Παπνουθίου may have superseded κυριακή; cf. l. 10. Other saints venerated by the Copts on this day, St. Primus, patriarch of Alexandria (*ob.* about 120), the prophet Zachariah, and the forty martyrs of Sebastia, are less likely to have been mentioned.

58–9. On the omission of the week-days from Monday to Friday see p. 30. Mecheir 21 in the Coptic calendars is the day of SS. Basil, Peter, bishop of Damascus, Peter, patriarch of Alexandria (*ob.* 311), amba Gabriel, bishop of Alexandria, amba Zacharias, bishop, and Onesimus, disciple of St. Paul. The last may have been mentioned in l. 58 (ἡμέρα Ὀνησίμου), or ἁ[γι(ον) Ὀνήσιμον is possible in l. 59.

60. κ[β]: a Sunday is wanted here and εἰς τὸν αὐτόν implies that the day is the next after Saturday, Mecheir 21; cf. ll. 8–9, 11–12, and 24–32 with 35–6, where there is an interval of a week and the name of the church is repeated. On Mecheir 22 the mediaeval Coptic calendars mention SS. Pamphilus and Porphyrius, and bishop Marutha, martyr under Diocletian, the modern one St. Isidorus, martyr under Decius, and bishop Maronius (fourth century).

61–2. On the first of these two days, which are consecutive (cf. l. 60, note), a saint's

day was probably recorded; cf. e. g. ll. 11–12. The second is almost certainly Mecheir 29, for that Sunday is wanted in ll. 61–2, and though the doubtful κ in l. 62 might be λ there is a vestige of another letter, which suits the cross-bar of θ. Line 61 therefore probably refers to Mecheir 28 (Feb. 22), a Saturday; cf. p. 30. The Coptic calendars mention St. Theodorus son of Romanus, martyr under Diocletian, a well-known saint, on that day, and ἡμέρα Θεοδώρου is possible in spite of the fact that the service was at the Southern church, for the St. Theodorus whose church is mentioned in l. 65 and possibly in l. 63 seems to be different. The Menol. Basil. mentions on Feb. 22 St. Athanasius, whom the Copts commemorate on Pachon 7 and sometimes on Thoth 30, and on Mecheir 29 (Feb. 23) both Greek and Coptic churches, as well as the Syriac calendar of 411, commemorate St. Polycarp, who may have been mentioned in l. 62 (ἡμέρα Πολυκάρπου instead of κυριακή).

63–6. On the restoration of the days in Phamenoth see pp. 30–1. St. Theodotus of Ancyra (l. 63, Phamenoth 6) was martyred in 304, and St. Theodorus of Pentapolis (l. 65, Phamenoth 13) about the same time. The latter is commemorated by the Copts on Epeiph 10 (so also Nau's calendar), as well as Phamenoth 12. The mediaeval Coptic calendars mention the Emperor Theodosius on Phamenoth 7, but that day is a Monday. The Greek Church on Phamenoth 6 (March 2) celebrates another Theodotus, bishop of Cyrenia in Cyprus (*ob.* about 324), Theodotus of Ancyra on June 7; and on March 9 (Phamenoth 13) both churches honour the forty martyrs of Sebastia in Armenia (fourth century ?). There is no special difficulty in l. 63, which, if it is Phamenoth 6, can be restored either Θεό[δοτον ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ or Θεό[δωρον κυριακή, or, if it is not the 6th, is probably the 5th (a Saturday), in which case Θεό[δωρον ἡμέρα . . . is likely, and l. 64 would then most probably refer to the 6th instead of the 12th. But a difficulty in any case arises in connexion with St. Theodorus in l. 65. A church of St. Theodorus at Arsinoë is known from e. g. P. Klein. Form. 164, and another at Antinoë from P. Cairo Maspero i. 67022. 18, but which of the numerous saints of that name is meant is not clear. Nau's and Tisserand's lists each mention about thirteen commemorations of St. Theodore, occurring in both on Thoth 11, Hathur 5, Tubi 12, Mecheir 28, Pachon 2 and 9, Pauni 6, and Epeiph 20, and in Nau's list on Hathur 20, Mecheir 7 and 13, Pauni 18, and Epeiph 9, in Tisserand's on Hathur 4, Choiak 25, Mecheir 27, Phamenoth 21, Pharmouthi 5 and 7. The modern Coptic calendar according to Nilles celebrates, besides the bishop of Pentapolis, eight others, an obscure Th. with others on Thoth 9, Th. Orientalis on Tubi 12, the son of Romanus on Mecheir 28 (cf. ll. 61–2, note), the martyr with Timotheus on Phamenoth 21, the disciple of St. Pachomius on Pachon 2, the Alexandrian monk on Pauni 6, the bishop of Corinth on Epeiph 10, and the στρατηλάτης on Epeiph 20. Without ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ in l. 65 it would be quite uncertain which was meant, except that Th. Orientalis and Th. son of Romanus, whose days come within the period covered by II, are unsuitable because their churches were not then visited. Since, however, two saints of this name have their days in Phamenoth, probably at least one of the two entries concerning Θεο[and Θε[refers to the celebration of the day of a St. Theodorus at his church. That ll. 63 and 65 refer to the two festivals of different saints called Theodorus on the 12th and 21st is improbable, because the 21st is not likely to have been reached so early as l. 65, and the bishop of Pentapolis is the only Theodorus whose festival need be considered. The objection to reading ιβ in l. 65 in accordance with the modern calendar is that, if l. 65 refers to a Saturday, l. 66 would naturally refer to the following Sunday, in which case l. 67, which is a day later than l. 66 (cf. l. 60, note), would be a Monday. Hence we prefer to avoid a violation of the directions of the Council of Laodicea, and to suppose that the festival of St. Theodorus was on the 13th (Sunday) instead of the 12th; cf. the similar variation in the case of the commemoration of Epimachus (pp. 26–7). Lines 66–7 then refer to the following Saturday and Sunday without difficulty, and l. 68 can refer to Easter Eve; cf. p. 31.

With regard to the two supposed Saturdays, Phamenoth 12 and 19 (ll. 64 and 66), the Coptic calendars commemorate on the first Joseph son of the patriarch Jacob, as well as St. Theodorus, and in the thirteenth–fourteenth century mention Demetrius, patriarch of Alexandria (*ob.* 232), and Malachias, martyr, and on the second Aristobulus (cf. l. 50, note; he is not in the mediaeval lists, which mention the power given to the disciples to bind and loose). The saints in the Greek calendar are unsuitable. For the 19th Ἀριστοβούλου is less likely than Κολλούθου, a well-known saint at this period (cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 1460. 117), who in the Syriac calendar of 411 was celebrated on that day, though he is not in the modern calendar.

67. On Phamenoth 20 the Copts celebrate various martyrs of the period of Diocletian besides St. Athom.

68. The Virgin and St. Euphemia are the only two female saints mentioned in II, but this entry may of course refer to a third; cf., however, p. 31. Possibly this service is to be connected with an ancient commemoration of the Virgin on Phamenoth 21 (Nau, *op. cit.* p. 200), but a σύναξις on a Monday in Lent would be contrary to the orders of the Council of Laodicea. The mediaeval Coptic calendars commemorate SS. Porphyrius, Apraxia, and Anatolius on Phamenoth 26, the modern one St. Sabinus of Hermopolis, Sadoch and 128 companions martyred under Sapor (341), and the prophet Hosea.

Additional note on l. 2.

With regard to the name of the πάπας, whom we have identified with Timotheus IV, the patriarch of Alexandria in 535 (p. 21), Mr. Crum suggests that Severus of Antioch may be meant. He was dethroned in 519 and appears to have spent the rest of his life in Egypt, his death taking place according to various authorities in 538, 539, or 542. For the monophysites, in Egypt at any rate, he was '*the* patriarch' *par excellence*, and is so referred to occasionally without his name. The descent of the Alexandrian patriarch to his residence seems a somewhat inadequate point from which to date such a calendar as this, whereas no honour would be too much for Copts to pay to an incident connected with Severus, who has three distinct festivals in the *Synaxarium*. But whether Egyptians would refer to him as well as to the Alexandrian patriarch by the title πάπας is doubtful.

II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS

1358. Hesiod, *Catalogue*, Book iii.

Fr. 1 22·2 × 10·1 cm., Fr. 2 23·6 × 13 cm. Third century. Plate II (Fr. 2).

Some notable additions have been lately made by the papyri of Egypt to the surviving remains of the Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν, for which Ἠοῖαι seems to have been but another name (cf. Rzach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* viii. 1201 sqq.), ascribed in antiquity to Hesiod. Extensive fragments concerning the suitors of Helen have been published in *Berl. Klassikertexte*, V. 1. ii. 2–3, with smaller pieces relating to Meleager and Bellerophon (ibid. 1. 4), the latter of which is probably to be combined with **421** (cf. H. G. Evelyn-White in *Class. Quart.* vii, p. 217); a Strassburg papyrus deals with Peleus and Thetis (ed. Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, xxxv, pp. 79 sqq.), and texts at Florence with Atalanta and Alcmena (P. S. I. 130, 131); the former of these heroines is also the subject of a scrap in the Petrie papyri (I. iii. 3). Further evidence of the popularity which this portion of the Hesiodic corpus evidently enjoyed is now provided by the following considerable fragments from the third book of the *Catalogue* (cf. Fr. 2. 9, note) and by **1359**, in which the heroines Auge and Electra figure.

1358 consists of two good-sized pieces, apparently having no direct connexion with each other. Their recto is inscribed with third-century official accounts, each fragment containing parts of two columns of which only the ends and beginnings of lines are preserved. In Fr. 2 Col. i the entry δι]ὰ πρα(κτόρων) ϵ (ἔτους) λημ(μάτων) ϵ (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ) Ἀριγ occurs, and in Col. ii the Oxyrhynchite villages of Μονίμου and Μϵρμέρθα are mentioned in separate paragraphs. The literary text on the verso may be referred with probability to the latter part of the same century. It is written in a slightly sloping uncial hand of rather large size and handsome appearance. Some corrections have been introduced in another, though not very dissimilar, writing, and this second hand may well be the source of the stops, accents, and other signs (except the diaeresis), but there is practically no difference in the colour of the ink. The acute accents are inclined at an unusually sharp angle to the line of writing and are sometimes even horizontal. Stops occur in all three positions, but do not appear to have been used with any real discrimination of values. From photographs kindly supplied by Prof. Vitelli it is clear that this hand is not the same as that of either P. S. I. 130 or 131, which were also obtained from Oxyrhynchus.

The subject of the two fragments is quite different, and their order is uncertain. Fr. 1 contains the ends of thirty-two lines from the upper part of a column, with slight remains of the column succeeding. The first fourteen lines of Col. i give the story of Europa, which was known to have been treated by Hesiod from the scholia on Homer, M 292 (Hesiod, Fr. 30), and will readily admit of an approximate restoration. In the lower portion of the column the allusions leave little room for doubt that the adventures were described of one of the sons of Zeus and Europa, Sarpedon, and that the writer identified him with the Sarpedon of the *Iliad*. This identification was already implied by the Homeric scholia cited above, e. g. Schol. T, *l. c.* Ἡσίοδος δὲ Εὐρώπης καὶ Διὸς αὐτόν (sc. Σαρπ.) φησι (cf. Schol. Eurip. *Rhes.* 29), and Immisch has noted that traces of it may be seen in Homer (Roscher, *Lexicon*, iv. 403), in spite of Z 198–9 and the remark of Aristonicus thereon (Schol. A, *ad loc.*) καθ' Ὅμηρον Σαρπηδὼν υἱὸς Εὐρώπης οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀδελφὸς Μίνωος, ὡς οἱ νεώτεροι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ χρόνοι εὔδηλοι. A like tradition was followed by Aeschylus (Nauck, *Trag. Fr.* 99), and the author of the *Rhesus* (l. 29), probably also by Bacchylides (Schol. A, Homer, M 292); cf. Hygin. *Fab.* 106, where the Sarpedon slain by Patroclus is called *Iovis et Europae filium*. Chronological difficulties were evaded by a legend that the hero's life was supernaturally prolonged: καὶ αὐτῷ δίδωσι Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς ζῆν says Apollodorus iii. 1. 2. Others distinguished two Sarpedons, the son of Europa, and the Sarpedon of the *Iliad* who according to Z 198–9 (cf. Apollod. iii. 1. 1. 3) was the son of Zeus and Laodamia, while another account made his parents Euandrus son of the first Sarpedon and Deidamia (Diodor. v. 79. 3). Since the agreement of the poet of the *Catalogue* with the Homeric account of Sarpedon seems to have been in other respects rather close (cf. notes on ll. 23, 25–8), his divergence on the point of genealogy is the more remarkable. It should perhaps be noted in this connexion that according to the statement of Schol. A on Z 119 (Aristonicus) the position in the *Iliad* of the Glaucus episode, in which alone the mother of Sarpedon is named, was regarded as insecure.

In the second fragment there are again remains of two columns, though those of the second are so slight as to be practically negligible. Of Col. i, as opposed to the main column of the preceding fragment, the top is lost while the end is preserved, but it is hardly likely that more than a few verses are entirely missing. The gap at the beginnings of the lines is fortunately slighter than in Fr. 1, but restoration is nevertheless a matter of considerable difficulty. To some extent obscurity may be due to a faulty text. Some errors have been corrected, and in one place a whole line which had been originally omitted has been inserted; but in l. 31, at least, no construction seems obtainable as the text stands. The key to the subject of the whole passage seems to be given in

ll. 28 sqq., which describe an extended flight and pursuit of certain females apparently through the air. Following a suggestion of Mr. T. W. Allen, to whom we owe a number of contributions to the reconstruction of **1358** and **1359**, we suppose the pursuit to be that of the Harpies by the Boreadae. There is good reason to believe that this subject was treated in the third book (cf. Hesiod, Frs. 52–9); and that that book is the source of the present fragments is clear from the references to the Κατουδαῖοι and Πυγμαῖοι in ll. 9 and 18; cf. the note on l. 9. In Hesiod, Fr. 54, the story of Phineus and the Harpies is said to have occurred *ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ γῆς περιόδῳ*, but this is probably the appropriate name of that section of the book containing the account of the voyage of the Argonauts, in which the story of Phineus was an episode (cf. Rzach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* viii. 1205–6). From the similarity in phraseology between l. 20 and l. 28 it may be inferred that in l. 20 also the Boreadae are the subject; and this being granted, the construction of l. 15 (= Hesiod, Fr. 55) is hardly to be explained unless that line is one of a series specifying the various peoples and places passed by the Harpies and their pursuers; cf. ll. 25–6. We are thus carried back to l. 9 in which the Κατουδαῖοι and Πυγμαῖοι are mentioned and to which l. 18 must be a retrospective reference. Hence it would appear that the whole of this column was a description of the flight, the chief points on the route being given with parenthetical explanations and amplifications.

Fr. 1.

Col. i.

[. . . . . ε]περησε δ ᾱ ρ' αλμυρον ὕδωρ .
[. . . . . .] Δἰος δμηθεῖσα δολοισι
[την ρα λαθων ηρπαξε] πατηρ και δωρον εδωκεν
[ορμον οι χρυσειον ον Η]φαιστος κλυτοτεχνης
[ποιησεν ποτ αγαλμα ιδυί]ησιν πραπίδεσσι[[ν]]
[και κτεανον πορε πατρι] φερων· ο δ εδεξατο δωρο[ν
[αυτος δ αρ δωκεν κουρη]ι Φοινικ[ο]ς αγανου.
[ανταρ επει ουτω τ]ηλε τανισφύρωι Ευρωπ[ι]ηι [
[μιχθη ρ εν φιλοτητι] πατηρ ανδρων τε θεω[ν τε
[αυτις επειτ απεβη νυ]μφης παρα καλλικόμ[οιο
[η δ αρα παιδας ετικτ]εν ὑπερμενέϊ Κρον[ιωνι
[κυδαλιμους ευηφε]νέων ηγητορας ανδ[ρων
[Μινω τε κρειοντα] δικαιόν τε Ραδαμαν[θυν

Col. ii.

× [
. [
τ[
τ[
. .

About 15 lines lost.

[και Σαρπηδονα διον] αμυμονα τε κρατερ[ον τε
[τοισιν εας τιμας δι]εῤ[ά]σσατο μητιετα Ζ[ευς
[ητοι ο μεν Λυκιης ευρ]ε̣ίης ὑφι ανασσε
[. . . . . πό]λεις εῦ ναιεταωσας̣ [
[. . . . . πολ]λ̣ή δ ἐοι εσπετο τιμη
[. . . . . μεγαλη]τορι ποιμενι λαων.
[. . . . . .] . μεροπων ανθρωπων
[. . . . . .]΄λατο μητίετα Ζευς.
[. . . . . πολ]υν δ εκρινατο λαον.
[. . . . . Τρ]ωεσσ' επικουρους·
[. . . . . .] πολεμοιο δαήμων.
[. . . . . επ αριστ]ε̣ρα σήματα φαινων
[. . . . . Ζευς] αφθιτα μηδεα ειδως.
[. . . . . .]ατοι αμφιβαλόυσαις
[. . . . . .] Διοθεν τερ̣ας ἤεν.
[. . . . . Εκτ]οροs ανδροφονοιο
[. . . . . .] δε κ̣ηδε εθηκε.
[25 letters]ς Αργ̣ει̣[ο]ισί·
[31 „]κα̣[

. . . . . .

Fr. 2. Plate II.

Col. i.

. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]ν̣[
[. . . . . .] . κ̣ν̣[
[. . . . . .]ώ̣ντ[
[. . . . . .]τ . χ[
[. . . . . .] . αοδ̣[
[. . . . . .]εσπε[. .]η̣νοσ[
[. . . . . .]ε̣π̣α[. .] . κερ[
[. . . . . .]' επι εργα· και η̣[
[. . . . Κατουδ]άιων· και Πυγ[μαιων
[. . . . . απε]ιρεσιων μελάνο̣[
[. . . . . .]υ]] τεκε Γαια πελω[ρη

Col. i

. . .
. [
ω̣ρ̣[
αιρ[
με[
αρ[
ο̣ . [
π . [
ελθ̣[
ενδ̣[
ζη[
εις θ̣ρ[
και . [
. . .

[. . . . .]ας τε πανομφάιο[υ Διὸς
[. . . . . ο]φρα θεοισιν ὔφε[ιμ]ενοι αταρ[θωσ]ιν [ ]
[. . . . .] των μεν τε νοος [γλ]ωσσης καθ[υπ]ερθεν.
[Αιθιοπας] τε Λιβυς τε ἴδε Σκυ[θ]ας ἱππημο[λγους]
[. . . . . γ]ενεθ' υἱος ὑπερ[μ]ενεος Κρονιωνος·
[. . . . .] μελανες τε και Αι[θ]ιοπες μεγαθυμοι
[ηδε Κατου]δαιοι και Πυγμάι[οι] αμενηνοι
[οι παντες] κρειοντος Ερικτυπου εισι γενεθλη
[και τουτου]ς περι κυκλ[ω]ι εθυνεον αϊσσοντες
[. . . . .]νεαμ . [. . . Ὑ]περβορεων εὐϊππων.
[ους τεκε Γη] φερβουσα π[ολ]υσπερέας πολυφορβος
[τηλε παρ Ηριδανοι]ο βα[θυρρ]ου αιπα ρεεθρα.
οσα[ ]
[. . . . .]πρ . [. . . . .] ηλεκτροιο. . .
[Νεβρωδες τ ορος] αιπυ κ[αι Αιτν]ην παιπαλοεσσαν. ·/ [
[. . . . . τ Ο]ρυγιην· Λαιστ[ρυγον]ιην τε γενεθλην. [
[ενθα Ποσει]δάωνος ερισθ[ε]νέος γένεθ' υἱος· .[
[την παρα δ]ις πόλεσαν· π[ε]ρι τ' αμφι τε κυκλώσαντο. .[
[ιεμενοι] μαρψαι· ται δ εκφυγέειν και αλυξαι· .[
[ες τε Κεφαλλ]ηνων αγερώχων φῦλον ὁρουσαν. . .
[. . . . . Ποσει]δαωνι Καλυψω ποτνια νυμφη.
θοροντες.
[. . . . . γ]αῖαν Αρητιάδαο ἄνακτος·
. τε[ ] κατ(ω)
[. . . . .]ι[. . .]α κλύον· αλλ ara και τάς
[. . . . .]ν δια τ' αιθερος ατρυγετοιο
[. . . . . μετα]χρονιοισι ποδεσσι αν(ω)

Fr. 1. i. 3–16. 'Her then father Zeus carried off by stealth, and gave her as a gift the golden necklace which Hephaestus, famed for his art, once made for a delight with cunning mind, and brought and gave in possession to father Zeus; and he received the gift with gladness: this gave he to the daughter of proud Phoenix. But when the father of gods and men had thus been mated in love afar off with Europa of slender ankles, he went away again from the fair-tressed maiden. And she bore to the almighty son of Cronus glorious sons, princes of wealthy men, lord Minos and just Rhadamanthus and godlike Sarpedon, blameless and powerful, to whom Zeus in his wisdom apportioned their honour. Sarpedon ruled in might over broad Lycia . . .'

4–5. Cf. Apollod. iii. 4. 2 *τὸν ἡφαιστότευκτον ὅρμον, ὃν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου λέγουσί τινες δοθῆναι Κάδμῳ, Φερεκύδης δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρώπης ὃν παρὰ Διὸς αὐτὴν λαβεῖν.* For ιδυι]ησιν cf. e. g.

Homer, Υ 12 *Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν ἰδνίῃσι πραπίδεσσι.* What has been taken as remains of an acute accent may be part of a diaeresis. The rest of the supplement in l. 5 is prompted by Suidas, s. v. *ἀγάλματα, . . . καὶ Ἡσίοδος τὸν ὅρμον ἄγαλμα καλεῖ* (Hesiod, Fr. 233). As an alternative *θαῦμα ἰδεῖν ποίησε* may be suggested, and this would perhaps be somewhat better adapted to the lacuna, which is of the same size as in the two preceding and following lines.

7. *κουρη]ι Φοινικ[ο]ς*: so Homer, Ξ 321 *Φοίνικος κούρης.*

8. *τ]ηλε* is quite doubtful; the λ may be *α*, *δ*, or *μ*, and this is preceded by remains of, apparently, a vertical stroke. *καθε]υδε* would suit the context, but a *υ* is unsatisfactory. *Εὐρώπεια* has been regarded as a late form (cf. Lobeck, *Paral.* p. 321), but is now shown to be of the same age as *Εὐρώπη* (first in *Theog.* 357). That the inserted *ε* is due to the corrector is not certain. For *τανίσφυρος* instead of *τανύσφ.* cf. Bacchyl. iii. 60, v. 59.

12. *ευηφε]νεων*, for which cf. Homer, Ψ 81, was suggested by Allen. *ερισθε]νεων* or *μεγαλοσθε]νεων* would also be suitable.

15–16. The supplement suggested in l. 15 is based on *Theog.* 885 *ὁ δὲ τοῖσιν ἐὰς* (Rzach with Ahrens, *εὖ* MSS., *ἐΰ* Heinsius) *διεδάσσατο τιμάς.* After *ανασσε* in l. 16 there is before the break a blank space (in which a stop is possibly to be recognized), so that *ανασσε[ιν* depending on e. g. *μοῖραν ἐδάσσατο* or *διεδάσσατο* (cf. *Theog.* 520 *ταύτην γὰρ οἱ μοῖραν ἐδάσσατο μητίετα Ζεύς*) is excluded. *Λυκίης εὐρείης* occurs in Homer, Z 173, 188, Π 455, &c.

18. l. *δε ὁι*, and this was perhaps intended, the accentuator being rather careless about the position of his marks; cf. note on l. 21.

21. A horizontal stroke above the first *τ* of *μητιετα* is probably to be interpreted as an acute accent intended for the next letter.

23. Cf. Homer, Μ 101 *Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἠγήσατ' ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων.*

25–8. The remains of these lines look very like a description of the portent which in the *Iliad* precedes the death of Sarpedon, Π 459–60 *αἱματοέσσας δὲ ψιάδας κατέχευεν ἔραζε παῖδα φίλον τιμῶν*; cf. Hesiod, *Scut.* 384–5 *κὰδ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν ψιάδας βάλεν αἱματοέσσας σῆμα τιθεὶς πολέμοιο ἑῷ μεγαθαρσέι παιδί.* It does not, however, seem possible to read *αιμ]ατος* in l. 27, though the *ι* is not certain and *γ* or perhaps *τ* could be substituted. The final *ς* of *αμφιβαλουσαις* also is very faint, and the slight vestiges might be taken for a stop, but the accent would then be wrong. *Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς* occurs in *Theog.* 545, 550, &c.

ii. 1. It is not clear whether the small cross in the upper margin here is the initial letter (*χ*) of an adscript or a critical symbol as e. g. **1231.** Fr. 32. ii; cf. **1361.** Fr. 5. ii. There may also have been some insertion immediately above or below l. 1; the vestiges are hardly to be accounted for by any single letter.

29. *εις θρ[*: or perhaps *εκ τρ[*. The first letter is really more like *σ* than *ε*.

Fr. 2. i. 9. Cf. l. 18 and Philod. *Περὶ Εὐσεβ.* 10 *οὐ]δ' Ἡσιόδῳ μή τ[ις ἐ]γ[γ]ελᾷ ὃς γ[. . . . .] αιο[. .]ν ἢ [καὶ τ]ῶν Κατουδα[ίων κ]αὶ τῶν Πυ[γμ]αί[ων μνημονεύει*, Harpocration i. 296. 7 (so Suidas and Photius) s. v. *ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκοῦντες, λέγοι ἂν . . . καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἡσιόδου ἐν γ' Καταλόγου Κατουδαίους ὀνομαζομένους* (Hesiod, Fr. 60), Strabo i, p. 43 (cf. vii, p. 299) *Ἡσιόδου δ' οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο ἄγνοιαν Ἡμίκυνας λέγοντος καὶ Μακροκεφάλους καὶ Πυγμαίους*, Harpocration i. 197. 10 s. v. *Μακροκέφαλοι, ἔθνος ἐστὶν οὕτω καλούμενον οὗ καὶ Ἡσίοδος μέμνηται ἐν γ' γυναικῶν Καταλόγῳ* (Hesiod, Fr. 62). The line might be completed with *ἀμενήνων*, as in l. 18.

10–14. The reference in this obscure passage, as Murray suggests, is perhaps to the *δῆμος ὀνείρων* (Homer, *ω* 12, *φῦλον ὀνείρων* Hesiod, *Theog.* 212). They are placed by Homer, *l. c.*, in the neighbourhood of the *Ἠελίοιο πύλαι* beyond the *Ὠκεανοῦ ῥοαί* and *Λευκὰς πέτρη*, and so could well be named after the *Πυγμαῖοι*, who, according to Homer, Γ 5–6, lived near the *Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοαί*; the Aethiopians and Libyans (l. 15) might indeed be expected to precede

rather than follow, but since these are coupled with the Scythians it is clear that the topography is somewhat vague. In Hesiod, *l. c.*, the mother of the φῦλον ὀνείρων is Νύξ, but Euripides calls them sons of Earth in *I. T.* 1263 and *Hec.* 70 πότνια χθών, μελανοπτερύγων μᾶτερ ὀνείρων: with the epithet μελανοπτερύγων cf. μελάνο[in l. 10. Lines 13–14 may be explained as alluding to the substitution of the articulate prophecy of Apollo for prognostication by dreams, as described in Eurip. *I. T.* 1259 sqq. On these lines the passage may be tentatively restored:—

[εἶτ' ἐπ' ἀπέ]ιρεσίων μελάνο[. . . . δῆμον ὀνείρων
[τοὺς . . . . .] τέκε Γαῖα πελώ[ρη θυμοσόφους τε
[μαντοσύν]ας τε πανομφαίο[υ Διὸς εἰδότας αἶσῃ,
[κωφοὺς δ', ὅ]φρα θεοῖσιν ὑφε[ιμ]ένοι ἀτασ[θῶσ]ιν
[μαντείαις] τῶν μέν τε κτλ.

If the accent on μελάνο[is right, only one syllable is wanting; otherwise μελανόπτερον ὄχλον would be suitable.

11. Γαῖα πελώρη occurs several times in the *Theogony*, e.g. 159, 173. But perhaps πελώριος, which is found as a fem. form in *Theog.* 179, was here used.

12. πανομφαῖος is an epithet of Zeus in Homer, Θ 250.

13. A dark mark on the edge of the papyrus before φρα does not look like an accent. ατασ[θωσ]ιν, if right, is remarkable, the verb being used elsewhere in the present tense only. αταλ[λωσ]ιν (cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 131) cannot be read.

15. This line = Hesiod, Fr. 55, from Strabo vii, p. 300 Ἡσίοδος μάρτυς ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἐρατοσθένους παρατεθεῖσιν ἔπεσιν Αἰθίοπας κτλ. The MSS. of Strabo have τε λιγυστὶ δέ, which has been variously emended: Λίγυάς τε ἰδέ Naeke, Λίγυάς τ' ἠδέ Heinsius, τε Λίγυς τ' ἠδέ Bernhardy, τὲ Λίγυς τε ἰδέ Rzach, Λίβυάς τ' ἠδέ Clericus, τε Λίβυς τ' ἠδέ Osann, none of these quite coinciding with the reading of the papyrus, which may be accepted as correct. A mark like a very short grave accent above the ε of the first τε seems to be meaningless.

16–19. These lines apparently trace the origin of the Αἰθίοπες and others who had just been mentioned (ll. 9, 15) from Zeus, who rather than Poseidon is presumably meant, as usual, by Κρονίωνος; cf. l. 19 Ἐρικτύπου, which though an epithet of Poseidon in *Theog.* 441, 456, 930 would more naturally refer to Zeus when used independently. The fact that Poseidon is twice named below (ll. 27, 31) is hardly a reason for supposing that he was intended here. Line 16 may be restored, with Murray, [ὧν ἄρ' ἄναξ; or possibly there was a mention of Epaphus, as Mr. Lobel suggests; he is described as the father of Libya in Aesch. *Suppl.* 315–16, Apollod. ii. 1. 4, &c. Line 17 might then be completed [τοιο Λιβυς]. Murray proposes [Κολχοι γαρ]; they were μελάγχροες according to Hdt. ii. 104. In the absence of corroborative evidence it seems hardly likely that μελανες is to be taken as a proper name here, though the position of τε would suit this. For the superfluous iota adscript in l. 19 cf. l. 31.

20. The poet here returns to the Boreadae and Harpies, who are apparently the subject of εθυνεον; cf. l. 28. θυνεῖν is a form peculiar to Hesiod.

21. Mr. Allen suggests that the name Φι]νεα stood here, but it seems very difficult to obtain a satisfactory completion of the line on that hypothesis. For the Hyperboreans cf. Hdt. iv. 32 ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μέν ἐστι περὶ Ὑπερβορέων εἰρημένα (Hesiod, Fr. 209), Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἡμίκυνες, ἔθνος οὐ πόρρω Μασσαγετῶν καὶ Ὑπερβορέων . . . καὶ Ἡσίοδος (Fr. 62). They were perhaps mentioned here as the starting-point of the chase.

22. We regard this and the two following verses as a parenthetical amplification of Ὑπερβορέων analogous to the genealogy of the Αἰθίοπες, &c., in ll. 16 sqq. For τεκε Γη cf. l. 11 above, and for the collocation π[ολ]υσπ. πολυφ., Homer, I 154 πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται, Κ 315 πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος. πολύφορβος, which may be a mistake for πολυφορβους, is an epithet of Demeter in *Theog.* 912 and of γαῖα in Homer, I 568, &c.

23–4. The restoration of Ηριδανοι]ο here (Allen) is commended by ηλεκτροιο in the following line. The Eridanus is mentioned in *Theog.* 338, and that the myth of the Heliades occurred in Hesiod was known from Fr. 199. The view that in its earliest form that story was connected with the Hyperboreans had already been taken by Preller, *Griech. Myth.* i, p. 358; cf. Hdt. iii. 115 Ἠριδανόν τινα . . . ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* iv. 611–14 Κελτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ βάξιν ἔθεντο, ὡς ἄρ' Ἀπόλλωνος τάδε δάκρυα Λητοΐδαο συμφέρεται δίναις (sc. Ἠριδανοῦ), ἃ τε μυρία χεῦε πάροιθεν, ἦμος Ὑπερβορέων ἱερὸν γένος εἰσαφίκανεν. Whether the interlinear addition in l. 24 is due to the corrector or to the original scribe is not very clear.

25–6. Νεβρωδες was suggested by Lobel. The construction is awkward, though apparently not more so than at l. 15. For Αιτν]ην and Ο]ρτυγιην cf. Strabo i, p. 23 (Hes. Fr. 65) Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ Ἡσίοδον μὲν εἰκάζει . . . πιστεύσαντα τῇ δόξῃ μὴ μόνον τῶν ὑφ' Ὁμήρου λεγομένων μεμνῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἴτνης καὶ Ὀρτυγίας τοῦ πρὸς Συρακούσαις νησίου καὶ Τυρρηνῶν. In l. 26 νησον is an obvious supplement, but is scarcely long enough for the lacuna; possibly [νησον επ Ο]ρτ. was written. Murray proposes στνφλην.

27. νιος: i. e. probably Laestrygon, who is called the son of Poseidon in Eustath. p. 1649. 10; cf. Gellius, *N. A.* 15. 21 *Neptuni filios dixerunt . . . Laestrygonas.* Polyphemus could hardly have been referred to in such vague terms. In place of ενθα perhaps ος τε might be restored, sc. Λαιστρυγών, supplied from Λαιστ[ρυγον]ιην.

θ of γενεθ was converted from a τ.

28. πολεῖν means 'to plough' in *Op.* 462, but must here mean 'range over' if, as is the natural assumption, the Boreadae are the subject.]ις might also be e. g. τρις with επι or αρα or μεν preceding.

29. Cf. *Scut.* 231 ἱέμεναι μαπέειν, of the Gorgons, and 304 ἱέμενοι μαπέειν, οἳ δ' ἱέμενοι ὑπαλύξαι, of hunters and hares.

30. Κεφαλλ]ηνων well suits the geography, the Στροφάδες or Πλωταί, where the pursuit ended, being placed to the south of Zacynthus; cf. l. 32 and Schol. Laur. Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* ii. 297 ὅτι δὲ ηὔξαντο οἱ περὶ Ζήτην τῷ Διὶ στραφέντες λέγει καὶ Ἡσίοδος Ἔνθ' οἵ γ' εὐχέσθην Αἰνηίῳ ὑψιμέδοντι (Fr. 57)· ἔστι γὰρ Αἶνος ὄρος τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, ὅπου Αἰνησίου Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν.

31. It seems impossible to obtain any connexion for this verse, since only a trochee is missing and a verb is demanded by the nominative Καλυψω κτλ. An aposiopesis analogous to Theocr. i. 105 οὐ λέγεται τὰν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος; is unsuited to the Hesiodic style; and the stop after νυμφη invalidates a transference of the verb to the beginning of the next line. Probably, then, either something has dropped out, as at l. 33 (e. g., as Mr. Lobel suggests, δῆμον Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος, ὃν μετέπειτα εἶργε Ποσ. κτλ.), or the verse is out of its place, which is perhaps the more likely alternative, if θοροντες in the margin implies that a participle preceded γ]αῖαν in l. 32.

32. γ]αῖαν Αρητιάδαο: i. e. presumably Dulichium; cf. Homer, π 395–6 Νίσου φαίδιμος υἱός, Ἀρητιάδαο ἄνακτος, ὅς ῥ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου κτλ. A reference to the Thessalian Cycnus, who is called Ἀρητιάδης in *Scut.* 57 (cf. Apollod. ii. 7. 7), does not suit this context.

33. Possibly the supposed ι belongs to the interlinear insertion. κατ(ω) at the end of the line calls attention to the verse which has fallen out and been subsequently supplied at the bottom of the column; cf. e. g. **700**. 27, **852**. Fr. 1. ii. 8, Fr. 64. 57, **1232**. ii. 3.

35. This verse, which was originally omitted, follows l. 33; see the preceding note. For μετα]χρονιοισι, which was restored by Allen, cf. *Theog.* 269.

ii. 1. The marginal sign (cf. e. g. **16**) is presumably due to the corrector.

1359. HESIOD, *Catalogue.*

Fr. 1 15 × 7·7 cm. Early third century. Plate III (Frs. 2 and 4).

The authorship of the following fragments is not established like that of **1358** by coincidences with extant Hesiodea, but will nevertheless hardly be questioned. Their subject is clearly well-known heroines of Greek mythology, whose stories with those of their descendants are narrated just in the manner of the Hesiodic Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν. Fr. 1, the only substantial piece, is occupied with the adventures of Auge and her son Telephus. Fr. 2, from l. 5, where the transition to a new subject is marked by a paragraphus, relates to Electra, daughter of Atlas, and her descendants. If Ερι]χθονίοιο is to be restored in Fr. 4. 3, that fragment would be expected to be concerned with the same family as Fr. 2; ll. 5–8, however, apparently relate to Diomede and Hyacinthus, who were not connected with the Dardanidae.

The MS. is neatly written in a small, slightly sloping book-hand of a common type, and may be roughly dated about the year A. D. 200. Accents and other diacritical signs, probably also the punctuation, are secondary, as is evident from the colour of the ink, and may be credited to the corrector who has made occasional small alterations in the text.

Fr. 1.

. . . . . .

[ ]ν̣[

[18 letters] . [.]δ̣ι̣[. . . . . .]ε . [

[. . . . . .] . . [. .]ν̣ο̣ . δ̣εναθα̣[. . . . . .] . [

[ει δη ρ η]μ̣ε̣[λλ]εν τε και ει διε μν[θον] ακουσ[αι

τ'

5 [αθανα]των ὁ̣ι̣ οι το[[ι]] εναργεες αντεφανησ[αν

[κεινη]ν δ' [ε]ν μεγαροισιν εὐ̈ τρεφεν ηδ' ατ[ιταλλε

[δεξαμ]εν[ο]ς [[ε]]ϊ̈σον δε θυγατρασιν ἣ̣ʽσιν ετιμ̣[α

[η τεκε] Τηλεφον Αρκασίδην Μῦσῶν βασιλη̣[α

[μιχθε]ισ εν φιλοτητι βίη Ηρακληειη·

10 [ος ρα μεθ ι]π̣πους στειχεν αγαυου Λαομεδοντο[ς

[οι δη ποσσι]ν αριστοι εν Ασ[ί]δι ἐτραφεν α'η·

[εκ δ ο γ Αμαζον]ι̣δων μεγαθυμων φυλον εναιρ[ε

[μαρναμενος κ]ειν̣ης δε τε γης εξηλασε πάσης [
[αυταρ ο Τηλεφος] έτραπ' Αχαιων χαλκοχιτων[ων
[ασπίστας και εβησ]ε μελαινάων επι ν[ηων
[αυταρ επει πολλους] πελασεν χθονι βω[τιανειρη
[αυτου δη δεδμητ]ο̣ βιη τ' ἀνδροκτασιη τ̣[ε
[. . . . . .]η κατοπισθεν ε̣[
[. . . . . .] . ως δ' ἵκοντο θ̣[
[. . . . . .] πεφοβημενο̣[
[. . . . . .] . ετο κλυτος αρ[
[. . . . . .]ε̣ δ̣ια κλε[. .] . [
[. . . . . .] . [
[. . . . . .]κ̣λυτ̣[
[. . . . . .]ν̣α[

. . . . . .

Fr. 2. Plate III.

. . . . . .

ε̣ . [
κ̣[
. . [
και μ[
Η̄λεκτρ[η
γειναθ' [υποδμηθεισα κελαινεφει Κρονιωνι
Δαρδαν[ον
Ηετιων[α τε
ος ποτε Δ[ημητρος μεγ ερασσατο καλλικομοιο
και τον μ[εν φλογερω δαμασεν πληχθεντα κεραυνω
Ηετιωνα̣ [χολωσαμενος νεφεληγερετα Ζευς
ουνεκα Δ[ημητρ ηυκομω επι χειρας εβαλλεν
αυταρ Δα[ρδανος ηλθεν επ ακτην ηπειροιο
εκ του̣ Ερ[ιχθονιος και Τρως μετεπειτα γενοντο
Ιλος̣ [τ Ασσαρακος τε και αντιθεος Γανυμηδης
νηϊ [πολυκληιδι λιπων ιερην Σαμοθρακην

. . . . . .

Fr. 3.

. . .
νοσ̣τ̣ο[
α[
άιθ̣ο̣ . . [
. . .

Fr. 4. Plate III.

]κ̣λ̣ε̣ο̣[
ʹ]δ̣αο θύγατ[ρ
]χθονίοιο
] . καλλος ε[
5 ευπλ]ο̣καμον Δ[ιομ]ηδ[ην
η δ Ϝακινθον γειναθ αμυ]μονά τε κρατερον τε
]α· τον ρα ποτ᾽ αυτος
Φοιβος κτανε νηλε]ϊ̈ δισκω
]
. . . . . .

Fr. 5.

. . . . . .
] . [
]ν γερας αφ[θιτον
]αιμον τ̣ε̣ν̣[
δια χρυση]ν Αφροδι[την
5] . κε γυν[αικ
. . . . . .

Fr. 6.

. . .
] . . . [
]ν ϊκανεν
]λης
]οιο
]
. . .

Fr. 7.

. . . . .
]ι̣σ̣[
]δ̣ων[
γ]ο̣νή̣ων· ηδ[
] κατ᾽ αρ . [

Fr. 1. 3. Perhaps *αθα[νατοις* (cf. l. 5), but the preceding remains do not combine well with this.

4–17. '. . . if he delayed or feared to hear the word of the immortal gods who then appeared plainly to him. And he received and bred her up and tended her well in his halls, making her equal in honour with his daughters. And she was the mother of Telephus, of the stock of Arcas, king of the Mysians, after being mated in love with mighty Heracles, who went after the horses of proud Laomedon, the swiftest of foot bred in the land of Asia, and destroyed the race of the high souled Amazons in battle and drove them from all that land. Now Telephus put to flight the warriors of the brazen-coated Achaeans and made them

embark on their black ships. But when he had laid many low on mother earth, his death-dealing might was stricken . . .'

4–5. The reception of Auge by the Mysian king Teuthras seems here to have been attributed to a divine interposition. η]με[λλ]εν is quite conjectural; the doubtful μ may be η, and there is barely room for the two lambdas. In l. 5 the supposed rough breathing on οι is very uncertain, and a smooth one would be at least as consistent with the vestiges.

6. [κεινη]ν: sc. Auge; the subject is Teuthras.

7. Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 99 *cum esset orbus liberis, hanc pro filia habuit*, and *Fab.* 100, where the story of the proposed marriage of Auge to Telephus is given. Another version represented Auge as having become the wife of Teuthras; cf. Pausan. viii. 4. 9, Apollod. ii. 7. 4.

8. Αρκασιδην: cf. Callim. *H. Dian.* 216, where the name is applied to Iasius, who like Telephus was of the fifth generation from Arcas.

11. Cf. Homer, Ψ 348 ἦ τοὺς Λαομέδοντος, οἳ ἐνθάδε γ' ἔτραφεν ἐσθλοί.

15. εβησ]ε: cf. e.g. Homer, Π 810 φῶτας ἐείκοσι βῆσεν ἀφ' ἵππων.

16. Cf. the Homeric line πάντας ἐπασσυτέρους πέλασε χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ (Θ 277, &c.). χθονὶ βωτιανείρῃ occurs in *H. Apoll.* 363, *H. Ven.* 265.

17. δεδμητ]ο is extremely uncertain; the slight remains of the final vowel would be consistent with ε. Above the line at this point is an ink-mark which suggests a stop, but that can hardly have been intended here.

18. Possibly εβ]η, but the lacunae now become too large for satisfactory restoration.

19. The last word may well have been θ[αλασσαν, as both Murray and Allen suggest; the remains after the initial lacuna are consistent with θ]οως.

21. Perhaps Αρ[γειφοντης, as in Hesiod, *Op.* 84 πέμπε πατὴρ κλυτὸν Ἀργ., but πε]τετο, as in Homer, Ω 345 π. κρατὺς Ἀργ., would be unsatisfactory, the vestige of the letter after the lacuna apparently not suiting τ.

22. Perhaps κλε[ιτοῦ, the last vestige before the lacuna being part of the circumflex.

24. Cf. l. 21 and note.

Fr. 2. 5 sqq. Cf. Homer, Υ 215 sqq., Apollod. iii. 12. 1–2.

6. For the supplement cf. Hesiod, *Scut.* 53.

8–12. Cf. Homer, ε 125–8 ὡς δ' ὁπότ' Ἰασίωνι ἐυπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ, ᾧ θυμῷ εἴξασα, μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ· οὐδὲ δὴν ἦεν ἄπυστος Ζεὺς ὅς μιν κατέπεφνε βαλὼν ἀργῆτι κεραυνῷ, Apollod. iii. 12. 1 Ἰασίων μὲν οὖν ἐρασθεὶς Δήμητρος καὶ θέλων καταισχῦναι τὴν θεὸν κεραννοῦται. That Iasion was another name for Eetion is stated in Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 916 ἐγέννησε δὲ τρεῖς παῖδας, Δάρδανον τὸν ἐς Τροίαν κατοικήσαντα, ὃν καὶ Πολυάρχην φασὶ λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, καὶ Ἡετίωνα ὃν Ἰασίωνα ὀνομάζουσι· καί φασι κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑβρίζοντα ἄγαλμα τῆς Δήμητρος. The scholiast's authority here is supposed to have been Hellanicus, who is cited in the context. The identity of Iasion with Eetion is also stated by Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1129.

13–16. Cf. Apollod. iii. 12. 1 Δάρδανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λυπούμενος Σαμοθρᾴκην ἀπολιπὼν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέρα ἤπειρον ἦλθε. νηι in l. 16 looks like a reference to the voyage of Dardanus (in spite of Conon 21 πλοίων χρῆσις οὐδέπω ἦν), and if so it seems probable that ll. 14–15 are parenthetical. Tros was the son of Ericthonius and father of Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede. For l. 15 cf. Homer, Υ 232.

Fr. 3 containing beginnings of lines may well belong to the same column as Fr. 2, but their relative position is unknown.

Fr. 4. 1–4. The subject of these verses is not clear. It is natural to restore Ερι]χθονιοιο in l. 3 and to suppose that the fragment is more or less closely connected with Fr. 2,

and ll. 1–2 and 4 readily lend themselves to that view;]κλεο[in l. 1 may be Κλεο[πατρα daughter of Tros, and καλλος in l. 4 might be taken to refer to her brother Ganymede. On the other hand ll. 5–8 are apparently concerned with the quite different subject of Diomede and Hyacinthus. Perhaps a new section began at l. 5.

5–8. Cf. Apollod. iii. 10. 3 Ἀμύκλα δὲ καὶ Διομήδης . . . Ὑάκινθος. τοῦτον εἶνι ι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐρώμενον λέγουσιν, ὃν δίσκῳ βαλὼν ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε.]α in l. 7 might perhaps be Αμυκλ]α.

Fr. 5. 2. αφ[θιτον: cf. Homer, I 413 κλέος ἄφθιτον, *H. Cer.* 261 ἄφθ. . . . τιμήν. γέρας ἄφθ. occurs in Alcaeus, Fr. 83.

1360. Alcaeus.

Late second century.

Since the publication of Part X some additional fragments of **1234** have fortunately come to light. One or two small pieces have fitted on to Fr. 1, lines 1–12 now reading as follows:—

. [. . . . . .] . [. . .]ε[. .] . . [
ου[. . . . .]τάιρει
π[. . . . .]ἄβολονπάτεραπ[
κα[. . . .]νκήνωπατερα[
τ[. . . . .]ωνάισχυντοσεπ[
μ[.]σοσαλιτρον·
ζευπατερ·λύδοιμενεπα[
συμφόραισιδισχελίοισστα[
άμμέδωκανάικεδυνάιμεθ'ἴρ[
εσπολινελθην·
ουπάθοντεσουδάμαπῶσλονου[
ουδεγεινώσκοντεσ·οδ'ωσαλώπᾶ[

That a new poem begins at l. 7 is established by the coronis. συμφόραισι is another substantial gain, and ἄμμι, which we hesitated to restore, is confirmed. The first word of l. 6 was of course μῖσος, but the preceding verses remain obscure. It is disappointing that the gap at the beginning of them has not been more completely filled, but perhaps the missing fragment may yet make its appearance.

The remainder of the new pieces are printed below. Frs. 1–3 certainly, and probably Fr. 5 also, are from the bottoms of columns, but their position relatively to each other and to the columns of **1234** is unknown, and the assumption that

the latter were consecutive becomes rather more hazardous. In colour and condition, however, these additional fragments approximate to **1234**. Fr. 1, and may well have preceded it. They cannot be brought into close connexion with **1234**. Frs. 3–6.

As in **1234**, political references are frequent, and the poems seem to belong mainly to the class of Στασιωτικά. Lines 1–8 of Fr. 1 are from the conclusion of a poem, of which, however, there is not enough to show clearly either the subject or metre; l. 8 may be scanned as an Adonius, but the absence of a paragraphus below l. 4 is against Sapphics. ἀ πόλις in l. 8 points to a political theme. The next piece opens with an apostrophe to some person who is apparently reproached as a half-hearted adherent of the party of Alcaeus. It is written in stanzas of uncertain length. If, as is possible, a paragraphus has disappeared below l. 11 (see the note there) they would be three-line stanzas, as in one of the Berlin fragments of Sappho (*Berl. Klassikertexte*, v. 2, p. 12), consisting of a second Glyconic, a greater Asclepiad, and a lesser Asclepiad. This, however, is quite doubtful, though a stanza of more than four verses is unexpected. Fr. 2, in Alcaics, is shown by the accompanying scholia to be similarly concerned with politics. The citizens are rebuked for their timidity and urged to suppress the coming tyranny, which is compared to smouldering wood that will soon be bursting into flame. In Fr. 3 hardly anything is left of the main text; a note on the lower margin explains a topographical allusion which occurred in it, and also mentions Bycchis, who figures in **1234**. Fr. 3. 10 as well as in Alc. 35. 3. There is little distinctive in the other fragments with the exception of Fr. 5, where the 2,000 staters in l. 7 must mean the Lydian subvention already referred to in Fr. 1 of **1234** (reprinted above). Since Fr. 5 is evidently in Sapphics, it may even be part of the same poem as **1234**. Fr. 1.

Fr. 1.

. . . . . .

[.]ν[
ωσπάρᾳ[
αλλαπ[.] . [
τῶπο . . [
πολλα[.]ε[
ωσεθέλ[
[.]ττιτων . [
απολισἄμμᾱ[
ουπαντ'ἦσαπ[
ουδ'ασυννετ[.]σαμοισι.δ[
βώμωλατο[. .]ατοῦτ'εφυλαξᾳ[
μητιστωνκ[.]κοπατρίδαν ὁπωσ[σενφ[
έισεταιφάνεραιτ[.]σιναπαρχα . [

Fr. 2.

. . . . . .

]
]την
]οδεπλάτυ
]κεφάλασ.μάτει
] υμεισδεσιγατεωσπερνεκρωγιεροιμυστ̣αιο[δενδυναμενοιαντιστηναιτωιτυραν[
]ντεσ· αλλαωμυτιληναιοιεωσετικαπνομονο[
]οξύλον αφιησιτοξυλοντουτ/εωσουδεπωτυραν[
]προιειμονον κατασβετεκαικαταπαυσατεταχεωσμηλα[τεροντοφωσγενηται
]
]
]

. . . . . .

Fr. 3.

. . . . .

]σιν[
]ακρονε . [

Fr. 1.

. . . . . .

[.]υ[
ὡς πάρα[
ἀλλὰ π[.] . [
τῶ πο . . [
πόλλα[.]ϵ[
ὡς ἐθέλ[
[ὅ]ττι τῶν . [
ἀ πόλις ἄμμα [

Οὐ πάντ' ἦς ἄπ[oρος (?)
οὐδ' ἀσύννετ[o]ς ἄμ⟨μ⟩οισι δ[ὲ
βώμω Λατο[ἴδ]α τοῦτ' ἐφυλάξα[ο
μή τις τῶν κ[α]κοπατρίδαν ὅπως [
εἴσεται, φάνεραι τ[οῖ]σιν ἄπαρχαι [σεν φ[

Fr. 2.

. . . . . .

]την
τ]ὸ δὲ πλάτυ
] κεφάλας, μάτει
]
]ντες.
ἀλλ', ὦ πολῖται, νῦν, ἔτι τ]ὸ ξύλον
ἆς ἄμμι τὸν κάπνον] προΐει μόνον

ὑμεῖς δὲ σιγᾶτε ὥσπερ νεκρῶν ἱεροὶ μύσται, ο[ὐ-
δὲν δυνάμενοι ἀντιστῆναι τῶι τυράν[νωι.

ἀλλ', ὦ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἕως ἔτι καπνὸν μόνο[ν
ἀφίησι τὸ ξύλον, τοῦτ' (ἔστιν) ἕως οὐδέπω τυρανν[εύει,
κατάσβ⟨η⟩τε καὶ καταπαύσατε ταχέως, μὴ λα[μπρό-
τερον τὸ φῶς γένηται.

. . . . . .

Fr. 3.

. . . . . .

]σιν[
]ακρονε . [

]ε̣λ̣[. . .]δι̣[
]ωνει̣σ̣αΐδᾱ[
]
] . ι̣λημεταξυπυρρασκα[.]μυ̣[
]υφε̣ρ̣ω̣ντινασπ[
]φ̣η̣σ̣ι̣τ̣ωβυκχιδι[
] . γ̣αρυμει̣ν̣·

Fr. 4.

Col. i.

. .
]
]
]α
]τ̣ι̣
]
]ο̣σ
]ο̣ν
]
]ω̣σ
]
]
]
]
. .

Col. ii.

. . .
. [
μ̣α[
ο̣ννο̣[
καιτ[
ανδ[
δαιμ[
αυτω[
ωστο[
καλ . [
. κ̣ . [
. . .

Fr. 5.

. . .
] . [
]
]ο̣κλε[
]σέδωκ̣[
]τατοσκ[
]
σ
]λ̣ίοιστάτ[

Fr. 6.

. . .
]ω[
]ναι̣[.]α̣[
]ι̣τόεργον
]μα·
]ω̣ν̣τ̣ο̣κηων[
]ν̣
]ν̣τα [
. . .

Fr. 7.

. . .
] . αθη[
]
]άχη[
]ν̣οσα[
[ ]
[ ]
]στο[
. . .

Fr. 8.

. . .
] . . [
]
]ν̣
]ό̣μα[
]κύθ̣[
. . .

Fr. 9.

. . .
]πε[
]να[
]τεφ[
]ᾱ̣δε[
. . .

Fr. 10.

. . .
δρ̣[
α̣θ̣α[
κα[
εδα̣[
[.] . [
. . .

]ελ[. . .]δι[
]ων εἰς Ἀΐδα [
]

ἔστιν ἡ]. ιλη μεταξὺ Πύρρας κα[ὶ] Μυ[τιλήνης
]υ φέρων τινὰς π[
] φησὶ τῷ Βύκχιδι [
]. γὰρ ὑμῖν.

Fr. 4.

Col. i.

. .
]α
]τι
]οσ
]ον
]ωσ

Col. ii.

. . .
. [
μά[
ὀννο[
καὶ τ[
ἀνδ[
δαιμ[
αὔτω[
ὡς το[
Καλ . [
. κ . [
. . .

Fr. 5.

. . . . . .
]. [
]
]οκλε[
]ς ἐδωκ[
]τατος κ[
]
διςχε]λίοις στάτ[ηρας

Fr. 6.

. . . . . .
]ω[
]ναι[.] . [
? ἡλ]ιτόεργον
]μα.
(?) φίλ]ων τοκήων
]ν
]ντα [
. . . . . .

Fr. 7.

. . .
]. αθη[
]
]άχη[
]νοσα[
[ ]
[ ]
]στο[
. . .

Fr. 8.

. . .
]. . [
]
]ν
]όμα[
]κύθ[
. . .

Fr. 9.

. . .
]πε[
]να[
]τεφ[
]αδε[
. . .

Fr. 10.

. . .
δρ[
ἀθα[
κα[
ἐδα[
[.] . [
. . .

Fr. 11.

Col. i.

. .
].
]σ̣σουσι
]υ̣μ̣
]τα[ ]
]α̣σ̣[.]
. .

Col. ii.

. .
άι . [
μ[
ου[
. .

Fr. 12.

. . . .
]α̣σσαμι̣[
]ντεσδ . [
]φλαυροσυ[
. . . .

Fr. 13.

. . .
]σ̣
]α^ν^ιεροσυ̣[
]ω̣ν
]ιαν
. . .

Fr. 14.

. . .
] φ . [
]ησ κ̣[
τ . [
]σ δ̣[
σ̣υμ[
. . .

Fr. 15.

. .
]ασ̣α̣[
]νοπτ[
]υ̣τ̣ω[
. .

Fr. 16.

. .
]τιδα̣[
]πολυ[
]
. .

Fr. 17.

. .
]ρφ̣[
]ημ[
] . [
. .

Fr. 18.

. .
]ξ̣ω[
]ήκε̣[
]αστο[
. .

Fr. 19.

. . .
]β̣ο̣λ̣λ̣[
]αμεγ̣[
]τ̣ίσδ[
. . .

Fr. 20.

. .
] . [
]των[
]α̣ψ̣[
. .

Fr. 21.

. .
]πεν̣[
] . τ[
]σ[
. . .

Fr. 22.

. . .
] . [
]α̣λυπ̣τ[
]νκ[
. . .

Fr. 23.

. .
]ι̣σμε̣[
]δ'α[
. .

Fr. 24.

. .
]ν[
]τ̣έρ[
. .

Fr. 25.

. .
]κα[
]μο̣[
. .

Fr. 26.

. .
] . [
]λετ̣[
. .

Fr. 27.

. .
]λα[
]
. .

Fr. 28.

. . .
]δ̣εξα[
κτ̣ω̣ν̣[
. . .

Fr. 29.

. . .
]ι̣ο̣υ̣σ̣ . [
παντα̣[
]ρισενδε[
.]ουσ . [
. . .

Fr. 11.

. . . .
]. αί . [
]σσουσι
]νμ-
]τα[]
]ασ[.] μ[
]ου[
. . . .

Fr. 12.

. . . . . .
]ασσαμι[
]ντες δ . [
] φλαῦρος ὐ[
. . . . . .

Fr. 13.

. . . . . .
]ς
] ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἱεροσυ[λ
]ων
]ίαν
. . . . . .

Fr. 14.

. . .
] φ . [
]ης κ[
]ς τ . [
]ς δ[
συμ[
. . .

Fr. 15.

. .
]ασα[
]νοπτ[
]υτω[
. .

Fr. 16.

. . .
]τιδα[
] πολυ[
]
. . .

Fr. 17.

. .
]ρφ[
]ημ[
] . [
. .

Fr. 18.

. .
]ξω[
]ήκε[
]αστο[
. .

Fr. 19.

. . .
]βολλ[
]αμεγ[
]τίσδ[
. . .

Fr. 20.

. .
] . [
]των[
]αψ[
. .

Fr. 21.

. .
]πεν[
] . τ[
]σ[
. .

Fr. 22.

. . .
] . [
κ]αλυπτ[
]νκ[
. . .

Fr. 23.

. .
]ισμε[
]δ' ἀ[
. .

Fr. 24.

. .
]ν[
]τέρ[
. .

Fr. 25.

. .
]κα[
]μο[
. .

Fr. 26.

. .
] . [
]λεπ[
. .

Fr. 27.

. .
]λα[
]
. .

Fr. 28.

. . . . .
]δεξα[
κ(ατὰ) τῶν [
. . . . .

Fr. 29.

. . . . .
]ιουσ . [
πάντα[
ρισεν δε[
.]ουσ . [
. . . . .

Fr. 1. 8. The first mark of quantity is very doubtful, being abnormally low, but this might be accounted for by supposing the accent to have been written first. ἄμμα may be divided ἄμμ' ἀ[, ἄμμ' being either accusative or dative; for the latter cf. **1234.** Fr. 1. 9 ἄμμ' ἔδωκαν.

9. A new poem is marked by the coronis. The letter before the lacuna is probably either γ or π; β, however, is not impossible. An adjective to balance ἀσύννετ[ο]ς in the next line is wanted.

10. For the doubled ν in ἀσύννετ[ο]ς cf. Fr. 4. ii. 3, **1234.** Fr. 2. ii. 8 ὀννώρινε, and Alc. 18. 1 where the spelling ἀσυννέτημι is commended by these analogies. The rest of the line is difficult. οι seems practically certain, and the next letter can only be σ or ε. Before οι π could well be read, but this, though the preceding α may perhaps be λ, gives no word. That the letter next after the lacuna is the final ς of ασυννετ[ο]ς is not certain, for below the curved top there is a tiny speck which is consistent with ε or ο; but to read τ[οσ]ε or τ[οσ]ο does not suit the space so well, and leads to no other good result; ὅλμοισι cannot be regarded as likely here. We have thus been led to αμοισι, which would give a sense if some such verb as συνθιγών followed, but is unsatisfactory since the dialect requires a second μ. γάρ too would seem more natural than δέ.

11. Under the β of βωμω there is a narrow crack in the upper fibres of the papyrus, in which a paragraphus may possibly have disappeared, though it seems more likely that, if a paragraphus had stood here, some vestiges of it would have still been visible. There is certainly no paragraphus below either l. 12 or l. 13. The accidental omission of a paragraphus is of course not impossible, though an unsatisfactory supposition in consideration of their regularity in **1234.**

12–13. For the construction μὴ . . . εἴσεται cf. e.g. Aristoph. *Eccles.* 486–8 περισκοπουμένη . . . μὴ ξυμφορὰ γενήσεται, Aesch. *Pers.* 116 sqq. φρὴν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ . . . μὴ πόλις πύθηται . . . καὶ τὸ Κίσσιον πόλισμ' ἀντίδουπον ἔσ⟨σ⟩εται (ἄσεται?), Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 1. 18 ὅρα μὴ πολλῶν ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν χειρῶν δεήσει. The irregularity apparently gave rise to the marginal note. κακοπατρίδας is parallel in form to εὐπατρίδης. In **1234.** Fr. 6. 12 as well as in Alc. 37 the form κακόπατρις was used. For the paroxytone accent with gen. plur. of the 1st declension cf. **1231.** Fr. 14. 8, note.

Fr. 2. 3. μάτει: cf. Sapph. 54. 3 μάτεισαι. The preceding dot is a low stop, of which there was no example in **1234.**

4. The marginal note paraphrased the text. νεκρῶν μύσται is an unexpected combination, and the latter part of this line is very doubtfully deciphered. σωσ, σνε, ενε, might well be read instead of μυ. ε of δε has been corrected.

6–7. An approximate restoration is made possible by the marginal paraphrase. That the metre is Alcaic is sufficiently clear from the rhythms of ll. 2–3 and 6–7 in conjunction with the shorter verse in l. 4 and the final trochee in l. 5. Line 7 is followed by a blank space equivalent to three lines, and was therefore probably the last, or (allowing for one shorter line) the last but one of the column.

Fr. 4. ii. 3. ονο[: cf. **1234.** Fr. 2. ii. 8 ὀννώρινε and note on Fr. 1. 10, above.

Fr. 6. 3–4. The accent points to ἠλ]ιτόεργον rather than]ι τὸ ἔργον. Line 4, as compared with ll. 3 and 5, is too long for the last verse of a Sapphic stanza.

5. φιλων τοκηων occurs in **1231.** Fr. 1. i. 22.

7. There is only a short space after α, but the slight flourish with which it was finished is suggestive of a final letter.

Fr. 7. The metre may well be Sapphic.

Fr. 12. 1. The curved stroke below the line shows that the letters belong to a single word; cf. e. g. **1233.** Fr. 2. 20. It is the opposite of the *diastole*, of which there was an example in **1234.** Fr. 2. i. 6.

Fr. 15 possibly joins on above Fr. 16.

Fr. 17. 1. The doubtful φ may be υ.

Fr. 18. 1.]ξω[: or]ζω[.

Fr. 21 is rather doubtfully included here.

Fr. 28. The ξ is less carefully formed than is usual in this hand, and the fragment perhaps does not belong to this text. The attribution of Fr. 29, where in l. 1 only the bottoms of the letters remain, is also uncertain.

1361. BACCHYLIDES, *Scolia.*

Fr. 1 18·1 × 13·1 cm. First century. Plate III (Frs. 1, 4).

Bacchylides has already figured among the Oxyrhynchus papyri in **1091**, a column from Ode xvi (dithyramb). The fragments now published are from a different manuscript, and belong to a class not represented in the British Museum papyrus; but their authorship is at once demonstrated by a coincidence with a passage cited by Athenaeus (Bacch. Fr. 20).

The rather large and ornate handwriting has a decidedly early appearance, and is likely to fall well within the first century. Characteristic letters are ε and θ, of which the cross-bar commonly consists of a mere dot separated from the curved strokes. ξ is similarly treated, and ζ, in which the connecting stroke is vertical and joins the horizontal strokes at their centre, is also in the archaic style. The apices or finials frequently added to straight strokes are another noticeable feature. Hands somewhat similar in these respects may be seen in **659** and P. Rylands 20, though probably those both belong to a rather earlier period than **1361**; cf. also **1238**. Stops in two positions, high and medial, are employed, and accents, breathings, marks of quantity and elision, &c., have been inserted fairly frequently. Possibly some of these additions may be original, but the text has been corrected and annotated, apparently by more hands than one, and to them the diacritical signs are more probably due. It is noticeable that strophes are not marked off, as usual, by paragraphi.

Like other papyri from the same find (1906), the roll has suffered severely; only three of the forty-eight fragments recovered are of any size, these having themselves been largely built up of smaller pieces. Fr. 1, which at l. 6 sqq. coincides with Bacch. Fr. 20 and fortunately preserves the beginning of the poem from which those

attractive verses were taken, is addressed to Alexander, i. e. no doubt Alexander son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, to whom an ode was also dedicated by Pindar (Fr. 120). This Fr. 20 is commonly regarded as derived from a Παροίνιον, or convivial piece, although no distinct class of Παροίνια or Σκόλια is ascribed to Bacchylides by ancient authorities. That such was in fact the nature of the fragment is now quite evident from l. 5, in which the poet describes his composition as συμποσίοισιν ἄγαλμα. For the dedication of such poems to royal personages cf. e. g. Pindar, Fr. 125, cited from τὸ πρὸς Ἱέρωνα σκόλιον. The piece is written in dactylo-epitritic stanzas of four verses, the first four stanzas forming a prelude, after which Alexander is directly addressed.

The beginning of another poem, which is no doubt of the same class, is preserved in Fr. 4. This, as the marginal title states and would in any case be clear from internal evidence, was addressed to Hiero of Syracuse. In ll. 8–10 the poet alludes to his previous compositions in honour of the victories of Hiero's famous horse Pherenicus; and the coupling of 'chestnut steeds' with the name of Hiero in ll. 3–4 might at first sight suggest that the present piece also was designed to celebrate some success in the games. But if this were a regular epinician ode, its omission from the Hiero group in the British Museum papyrus would be very strange, and the occasion of the victory would be expected in the marginal title. Moreover, on the positive side there is not only the analogy of Fr. 1, but the direct reference in l. 6 to συμπόται ἄνδρες. These reasons combine to determine the classification of the poem as a convivial σκόλιον. Its date was subsequent to the year 476 B. C., as the mention of Aetna in l. 7 proves; and Bacchylides was not at the time in Sicily (ll. 6–7). The metre, as in Fr. 1, is dactylo-epitritic, the strophes consisting of six verses each, in the following scheme:

– – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – [–
– ∪ – – – ∪ – – [– ∪ – –
– ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ [∪ –
– – ∪ – –
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –
– – ∪ – – – ∪ [– –

The only other piece of any size is Fr. 5, consisting of remains of two columns, those of the first being quite considerable, though there seems to be a good deal missing at the beginnings of the lines. This column contains a lengthy mythological narrative, the key to which is not yet found. Line 6 ἐν [κ]εφάλ[ᾳ . . . τ]ρίχες, with the interlinear adscript . . . ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐν . . ., suggests a reference to the story of Pterelaus or Nisus, or some analogous myth; there is, however, no evident connexion between this and what follows, which relates to

a rape (ll. 13–14 ; cf. ll. 19–20). If]*δοντ'* in l. 14 (cf. l. 18) is the termination of a name (*-μέδοντ'* ?), this should provide the clue, but it has so far proved elusive. Notwithstanding this obscurity, the poem to which this column belonged may be presumed to be of the same class as the two discussed above. Its metre is of a different kind, and followed a more elaborate system, since no strophic correspondence is apparent.

Fr. 1. Plate III.

ωβαρβιτε·μηκετιπασσαλονφυλ̣α̣ς̣[
]ν επτατονονλ̣ι̣γὺρανκαππαν̣ε̣γα̂ρυν·
]α δεῦρ᾽εσεμασχερασ·ορμαινωτιπεμπ[
χρυ̣σ̣εο̣ν̣μουσα̂ναλεξανδρωιπτερο[
καισυμποσ̣[. . .]σιναγαλμ[. .]ε̣ικαδε̣σ̣[
εὐτενέωνα[. . . . . .]ναγκα·
σευομενα̂ν̣κ̣[. . . . . .][[ι]]σιθυμ[
κυπριδοστελπ̣[. . . . . .]νασ·
ἂμειγνυμέν̣[. . . . . .]δ̣ωροισ[
ανδρασινυψο[. . . . . .]μεριμ̣ν̣[
αυτικ̣[.]μενπ[. . . . . .]μ̣να . [
πασ[. . . . . .]χήσ[
χρυ[.]ω[ ]αιρ[
πὺροφ[ ]απο[
να̂εσαγο̣[. .
πλοῦτονὦσ[
ὦ̂π[.] . μὲγὰλ[
[. . . .]ουπ[
[. . . .]λάχ[
[. . . .]σὴθυμ̣[
[. . . .]φρονο̣[
[. . . . .]επερ[
[. . . . .]σ̣ησ̣ο̣[
. . . . . .

Fr. 2.

. . . .
]τ̣ιγαρανθ̣[
]ωιχαριτ[
. . . .

Fr. 1. Plate III.

Ὦ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλάσ[σων στρ. α′
Ἀλεξά]νδρῳ] ἑπτάτονον λιγυρὰν κάππαυε γᾶρυν·
Ἀμύντ]α. δεῦρ' ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας· ὁρμαίνω τι πέμπ[ειν
χρύσεον Μουσᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πτερὸ[ν
καὶ συμποσ[ίοι]σιν ἄγαλμ[' ἐν] εἰκάδεσ[σιν, στρ. β′
εὖτε νέων ἀ[γαθῶν γλυκεῖ' ἀ]νάγκα
σευομενᾶν κ[υλίκων θάλπη]σι θυμ[ὸν
Κύπριδος τ' ἐλπ[ὶς ⟨δι⟩αιθύσσῃ (?) φρέ]νας,
ἃ μειγνυμέν[α Διονυσίοισι] δώροις στρ. γ′
ἀνδράσιν ὑψο[τάτω πέμπει] μερίμν[ας·
αὐτίκ[α] μὲν π[ολίων κράδε]μνα λ[ύει,
πᾶσ[ι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρ]χήσ[ειν δοκεῖ,
χρυ[σ]ῷ [δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμ]αίρ[ουσιν οἶκοι, στρ. δ′
πυροφ[όροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντ]α πό[ντον
νᾶες ἄγο[υσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον
πλοῦτον· ὣς [πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ.
ὦ π[α]ῖ μεγαλ[οσθενέος ? στρ. ε′
[. . . .]ουπ[
[— ⏑]λάχ[— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏓ — ⏑ — —
[— ⏑]ς ἢ θυμ[— ⏑ — — — ⏑ —
[— —]φρονο[— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏓ — ⏑ — — στρ. ϛ′
[— ⏑]επερ[⏑ ⏑ — ⏓ — ⏑ — —
[— ⏑ ⏑]σησο[⏑ — — — ⏑ — —

. . . . . .

Fr. 2.

. . . .
]τι γὰρ ἀνθ[
]ῳ χαριτ[
. . . .

Fr. 3.

. . . . . .
] . [.] . . [
]φ̣[. . . .]κοτοσ·ο̣ . [
]ανθρωπωνδια̣ι̣σ̣[
]ν̣οσ·ισασδοτυχων[

Fr. 4. Plate III.

]ερωνι
]ρακοσιωι μηπωλιγ̣υ̣α . [
βαρβιτον·μελλ̣[
ανθεμονμουσα̣[. . .]ρων[
ξ̣α̣νθαισινιπποισ
5 [. .]εροεντελεσασ
[. .]ι̣συνποταισανδρεσσιπ[
[. .]τ̣νανεσεϋκτιτον·ε̣ικ̣[
[. .]ο̣σθενυμνησαστον̣[
[. .]σσιλαιψ̣[.]ρ̣ο̣[.]σφερ[
10 [. .]ωιτ[. . .]καν φερε[τ̣[.]υ̣σ . [
[. . .]ρ̣[.] . [. .]τ̣ομενοσ
[. . . . . .]εαν̣ε̣ . [. . .] . [
[. . . . . .]ε̣μοιτοτεκουρ̣α̣[
[. . . . . .]ο̣σσοιδιοσπαγχρ̣[
15 [. . . . . .]μοσ̣τ̣ι̣θεσανμ[
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]υ̣ναι[
[. . . . . .]ναπ . [
20 [. . . . . .] . ση[
. . . . . .

Fr. 3.

. . . . . .
] . [.] . . [
]φ[. . . .]κοτος· ο . [
] ἀνθρώπων διαισ[
]νος· ἴσας δ' ὁ τυχὼν [

Fr. 4. Plate III.

Ἱ]έρωνι Συ]ρακοσίῳ.

Μήπω λιγυαχ[έ' ἀνήκω στρ. α΄
βάρβιτον· μέλλ[ω γὰρ ἤδη χρυσοπέπλων
ἄνθεμον Μουσᾶ[ν Ἰέ]ρων[ι κλυτῷ
ξανθαῖσιν ἵπποις
[ἰμ]ερόεν τελέσας
[κα]ὶ συμπόταις ἄνδρεσσι π[έμπειν
[Αἶ]τναν ἐς ἐΰκτιτον· εἰ κ[αὶ στρ. β΄
[πρ]όσθεν ὑμνήσας τὸν [ἐν πώλοις κλεεννὸν
[πο]σσὶ λαιψ[η]ρο[ῖ]ς Φερ[ένικον ἐπ' Ἀλ-
[φει]ῷ τ[ε νί]καν Φερέ[νικος τ[ο]υσ . [
[—]ρ[∪ ∪ —]τομενος
[— —]εανε . [— ∪ — —
[— — ∪] ἐμοὶ τότε κούρα[στρ. γ΄
[— ∪ —] ὅσσοι Διὸς πάγχρ[υσον — —
[— ∪ — —]μος τίθεσαν μ[∪ ∪ —
[— — ∪ — —]
[— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —]
[. . . . . .]υναι[
[. . . . . .]ναπ . [στρ. δ΄
[. . . . . .] . ση[
. . . . . .

Fr. 5. Col. i.

]τ̣ευειδεκαμ̣[
]ονίᾱστάλὰι[ ]
]τ̣ερόννιντελ̣[ ]
] . ασκαικᾰτᾰρατ[. . . . . .]ι̣
]νενδονεχο̣[. . . . . .]
] . υποπατροσεν̣[
]ιδεν[.]εφαλ[. . . . . .]ριχεσ· [
]υσολοφουπα . . [. . . . . .] [
] . χαλκεομιτρᾱν[. . . . . .] · [. . . . . .]εινδ̣[
. [. . . . . .]λ̣εισ · [
]οιοκορησ
]θρασύχειρακαιμιαι̣[. . . .]ν
]ησκαλυκώπιδοσ
]πατέρ᾽έμμεν᾽·ὰλλά . [. .] . ρονοσ
]ε[[ν]]κρατερᾱτεκ᾽ πτο^λ καρτε̣[. . . . . .]ειν
·α·
]δονταναγκηι·
]ε̣λ̣ιου
]ενποσειδαονίασ
]α̣σελαυ
]ν̣τοσολβιοντεκοσ
]εκορηνηρ
]ρανηρωσ·
]τ̣ου
]α̣λλικρηδεμνουθεασ
]
]κυσαγγελοσ κ[.]λ̣λ̣ι̣σ̣φ̣υ̣ραν
]ανευτεμολεν·

Fr. 6.

. . .
]η̣σε̣[
]οῦτον[
]μασσο̣[
]υθ̣ . [
. . .

Col. ii.

. . .
σ̣[
× ε[
π[
× λ . . [
× ευ . [
μα . [
ξα[
εμ̣[
π[
μο̣[
δο[
χέ . [
σε . [
. . [
δ̣ρα̣[
[

Fr. 5. Col. i.

]τεύει δὲ καμ[
]ονίας τάλαι[ν]
]τερόν νιν τελ[ ]
] . ας καὶ καταρατ[. . . . . .]ι
]ν ἔνδον ἐχο[. . . . . .]
] . ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐν[
]ι δ' ἐν [κ]εφαλ[ᾷ . . . . . τ]ρίχες· [
χρ]υσολόφου πα . . [. . . . .] [
] . χαλκεομίτραν [ ] . [. . . . .]ειν δ[
. [. . . . .]λεις . [
]οιο κόρης
] θρασύχειρα καὶ μιαί[φονο]ν
κόρ]ης καλυκώπιδος
] πατέρ' ἔμμεν'· ἀλλά ν[ιν] χρόνος
]ε, κρατερᾷ τέκ' Πτολ(εμαῖος) καρτε[ρᾷ τεκ]εῖν.
]δοντ' ἀνάγκᾳ·
(?) ἀ]ελίου
]εν Ποσειδαονίας
]ις ἐλαυ-
]ντος ὄλβιον τέκος
]ε κόρην ἥρ-
]ραν ἥρως·
.]του
κ]αλλικρηδέμνου θεᾶς
]
ὠ]κὺς ἄγγελος κ[α]λλισφύραν
]αν εὖτ' ἔμολεν·

Col. ii.

. . .
σ[
ε[
π[
λ . . [
5 εὐ . . [
μα . [
ξα[
εμ[
π[
10 μο[
δο[
χέ . [
σε . [
. . [
15 δρα[
[

Fr. 6.

. . .
]ησε[
]οῦτον[
] μασσο[ν
]νθ . [
. . .

Fr. 7.

. . .

]

]ε̣ν·

]ο̣ν̣φυ[

]μ[.]λπο[

]οῦτοι̣τ̣[

]σιωσφ[

]ον·

]εται[

] · [

. . .

Fr. 8.

. . .

]ν̣τ̣ὰλ[

]μο[

] . νϊ

]

]γιαμ̣[

. . .

Fr. 9.

. . .

]αριτῳ[

]σταιπ[

]θεοπο[

]ητο̣ῳ̣[

]ι̣α̣τ̣[

. . .

Fr. 10.

. . .

]ι̣ουνν[

᾽]νον

]π̣όσιν

]

]καπ̣[

. . .

Fr. 11.

. . . .

] . . ν̣[.] . . . [

]μ̣αινόλισγ̣[

. . . .

Fr. 12.

. . . .

δ̣ο̣ . . [

στεφαναφο[

× τοτενέω$^{\nu}$ομοφ[

δευλύρᾱιτεφοι̣[

Fr. 13.

. . .

]μ̣ονιων[

]δειλωι . [

] . ενειι̣σ̣[

]κ̣ωιδεθ[

]ε̣νο̣[

. . .

Fr. 14.

. . .

]ο̣εσσα[

]ιν·

]μᾶσ

. . .

Fr. 15.

. . .

] · [

]σ̣·υπ̣[

]σαισ̣[

]τ̣νο[

]καιξ̣[

]

. . .

Fr. 16.

. . .

]σ̣

]εχε[

] · ν̣α̣[

]ην

]

. . .

Fr. 17.

. . .

]ι̣να[

]ν̣ακρο[

]νκατ̣[

] · α̣ι̣σ̣[

. . .

Fr. 18.

. .

]α̣σ̣[

]τ̣οξ̣[

]ὥστ[

]ι̣α̣σ̣[

. .

Fr. 7.

. . . . .
]
]εν·
]ον φυ[
]μ[.]λπο[
] οὗτοι τ[
]σίως φ[
]ον·
]εται
] . [
. . . .

Fr. 8.

. . .
]ν ταλ[
]μο[
] . νϊ-
]
]για μ[
. . .

Fr. 9.

. . . . .
X]αρίτω[ν (?)
]σται π[
] θεοπο[μπ
]ητοσ[
]ιατ[
. . . . .

Fr. 10.

. . .
]ιουν[
΄]νον
] πόσιν
]
]καπ[
. . .

Fr. 11.

. . . .
] . . ν[.] . . . [
] μαινόλις γ[
. . . .

Fr. 12.

. . . . . .
δο . . [
στεφαναφο[ρ
τότε νέων ὁμοφ[ων
δ' εὐλύρᾳ τε Φοί[βῳ

Fr. 13.

. . .
]μονιων [
] δειλῷ . [
] . ενεισ[
]κῳ δὲ θ[
]ενο[
. . .

Fr. 14.

. .
]οεσσα[
]ιν·
]μᾶς
. .

Fr. 15.

. . .
] . [
]ς· ὑπ[
]σαισ[
]τνο[
] καὶ ξ[
]
. . .

Fr. 16.

. . .
]ς
]εχε[
] . να[
]ην
]
. . .

Fr. 17.

. . .
]ίνα[
]ν ἀκρο[
]ν κατ[
] . αισ[
. . .

Fr. 18.

. .
]ασ[
]τοξ[
] ὡστ[
]ιασ[
. .

Fr. 19.

. . . .
]λει[
]
]
]
]αθημενη [
]μασ
]αιπατρι
]
]
]
. . . .

Fr. 20.

. . .
]
]αταιτοσα[
]ονθέμεθ[
]ποτετρω[
]ανζαθεο[
]ατεδηκα[
]μιθεοι[
]ηκτ . [
. . .

Fr. 21.

. . .
]θ[.]ν[
] . ε· [
]ατοσ[
]που[
]ον·
]ρ[
. . .

Fr. 22.

. . .
] . [
]ον[
]θρ[
]σε[
]ρ' . [
]μ[
. . .

Fr. 23.

. . .
]απ[
]ου[
] . κλ . [
] . . οχα[
]κκα[
. . .

Fr. 24.

. . . . .
]ισυνθε[
]νανθρωπ[
]λε[. .]ππόσαωσ [
]τοσσ[.]νεφαλικια[
]φεγγοσκατανθρωπ[

Fr. 25.

. .
[.] . [
. ε[
θυ[
θα[
μν[
. .

Fr. 26.

. . .
]νσυνβ[
]σοτανμ[
]ἀσοινω[
]ε·τιγαρ[
. . .

Fr. 27.

. . . .
] . ερεῖπε[
]οσεπιχθ[
]οτομη[
]αιγεμ[
. . . .

Fr. 28.

. . .
]νκαιφυσιν[
]εχάιτανεξ[
]ολυχ . [
]μφ[
. . .

Fr. 19.

. . . .
]λει[
]
]
]
]
κ]αθημένη
]μας
]αι πατρὶ
]
]
]
. . . .

Fr. 20.

. . .
]
]αται τοσα[
]ον θέμεθ[
] ποτε Τρω[
]αν ζαθεο[
]ατε δὴ κα[
ἡ]μίθεοι
]ηκτ . [
. . .

Fr. 21.

. . .
]θ[.]ν[
] . ε·
]ατοσ[
]που
]ον.
]ὁρ[
. . .

Fr. 22.

. . .
] . [
]ον[
]θρ[
]σε[
]ρ' . [
]μ[
. . .

Fr. 23.

. . .
]απ[
]ου[
] . κλ . [
] . . οχα[
]κκα[
. . .

Fr. 24.

]ι συνθε[
]ν ἀνθρωπ[
] λε[ύκι]ππος ἀὼς
] τόσσ[ο]ν ἐφ' ἁλικία[ς
] φέγγος κατ' ἀνθρωπ[

Fr. 25.

. .
[.] . [
. ε[
θυ[
θα[
μν[
. .

Fr. 26.

. . . . .
]ν σὺν β[
]ς ὅταν μ[
]ας οἰνω[
]ι. τί γὰρ [
. . . . .

Fr. 27.

. . . .
] . ερ εἶπε [
]ος ἐπιχθ[ον
]ο τὸ μη[
]αι γεμ[
. . . .

Fr. 28.

. . . . .
]ν καὶ φύσιν [
]ε χαίταν ἐξ[
]ολυχ . [
]μφ[
. . . . .

Fr. 29.

. .
δ̣[
χ[
ο̣ῑ[
γη[
μ[
. .

Fr. 30.

. . .
] . νκ̣ . [
]χον[
]το[
] . [
. . .

Fr. 31.

. .
]ε̣σκο[
]
]ου
]
. .

Fr. 32.

. .
]τ̣αι
]ν
]
]
]
. .

Fr. 33.

. .
. [
αι̣[
ε̣̂ι̣[
[′
. .

Fr. 34.

. . .
]τε . [
]νω[
] . τ . [
. . .

Fr. 35.

. . .
]οτέ . [
]σ̣όν[
]σ̣τ̣[
. . .

Fr. 36.

. .
]θη̂κ[
′]μπὰ[
]ω̣ιτ[
. .

Fr. 37.

. . .
] . [
]νουσα̣[
]τ̣᾽ὰγ̣[
. . .

Fr. 38.

. . .
] . δ̣[
]β . [
]θε[
. . .

Fr. 39.

. .
]ι̣κ[
]κα[
]ι̣[
. .

Fr. 40.

. . .
]ν̣ειᾳ[
]ιτερ̣[
. . .

Fr. 41.

. . . .
]ι̣σ̣[.] . [
]καινπε[

Fr. 42.

. . .
]λ̣ο̣[
]ανχαρ̣[

Fr. 43.

. . .
]̣· οἰδ[
]νε̣[
. . .

Fr. 44.

. .
]υοε[
]ι̣σ̣α̣[
. .

Fr. 45.

. .
] . ε̣[
]ι̣εν[
. .

Fr. 46.

. . .
]εν[
] . ρ . [
. . .

Fr. 47.

. . .
]σ̣ [
]με̣[
. . .

Fr. 48.

. .
]ο̣[
]ε̣[
] . [
. .

Fr. 29.

δ[
χ[
ὁτ[
γη[
μ[

Fr. 30.

]. ν κ. [
]χον[
]το[
]. [

Fr. 31.

]εσκο[
]
]ου
]

Fr. 32.

]ται
]ν
]
]
]

Fr. 33.

. [
αι[
εἰ[
[΄

Fr. 34.

]τε. [
]νω[
]. τ. [

Fr. 35.

]οτέ. [
]σόν[
]στ[

Fr. 36.

]θῆκ[
]μπα[
]ῳ τ[

Fr. 37.

]. [
]νουσα[
]τ' ἀγ[

Fr. 38.

]. δ[
]β. [
]θε[

Fr. 39.

]ικ[
]κα[
]ι[

Fr. 40.

]νεια[
]ιτερ[

Fr. 41.

]ισ[.]. [
] καὶ ὑπε[

Fr. 42.

]λο[
]αν χαρ[

Fr. 43.

]. οἶδ[
]νε[

Fr. 44.

]υοε[
]ισα[

Fr. 45.

]. ε[
]ιευ[

Fr. 46.

]εν[
]. ρ. [

Fr. 47.

]s
]με[

Fr. 48.

]ο[
]ε[
]. [

Fr. 1. 1–16. 'For Alexander son of Amyntas.

'My lyre, no longer hung upon the peg restrain the clear voice of thy seven strings. Hither to my hands! It is my wish to send to Alexander a golden feather from the wings of the Muses, to grace his banquets on the festal days, when, as the cups go swiftly round, a sweet force warms the heart of noble youths and a presage of the Cyprian goddess thrills the mind. Mingling with the gifts of Dionysus it sends a man's thoughts up to the clouds; straightway he is overthrowing the battlements of cities, he fancies himself monarch of the world, his halls gleam with gold and ivory, and the corn-laden ships bring vast wealth from Egypt over the radiant sea; such are the dreams wherewith the winecup stirs the soul.'

1. *φυλάσ[σων*: or *φυλάσσουσ'*; in the Anacreontea both the masc. and fem. are found, but in earlier writers the gender is not determined. *βάρβιτος* recurs in Fr. 4. 2, but is not elsewhere found in Bacchylides or Pindar. For *πάσσαλος* cf. Pindar, *Ol.* i. 18 *ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου λάμβαν'*, Homer, *θ* 67 *κὰδ δ' ἐκ πασσαλόφι κρέμασεν φόρμιγγα.*

2–3. The marginal note has been restored on the supposition that it contained the title, although in Fr. 4 this is placed rather higher up opposite the first line of the poem. The hand also seems to differ; it is more formal, like the note in Fr. 21. 5, and less distinct from the hand of the text.

4. *Μουσᾶν . . . πτερό[ν*: cf. e. g. Pindar, *Isth.* i. 64 *πτερύγεσσιν ἀερθέντ' ἀγλααῖς Πιερίδων.*

5. *εἰκάδεσ[σιν*: cf. e. g. Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi* 4 (1089 c) *ἐξ ἐφημερίδων ἀναλέγεσθαι . . . ποῦ Θάσιον ἔπιον ἢ ποίας εἰκάδος ἐδείπνησαν πολυτελέστατα*, and the will of Epicurus in Diog. Laert. x. 18 *τὴν γενομένην σύνοδον ἑκάστου μηνὸς ταῖς εἰκάσι τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν.*

6. At *γλυκεῖ'* begins the citation in Athenaeus ii, p. 39 e (= Bacch. Fr. 20).

7. *σευομενᾶν* was Blass's correction of the MSS. reading *σευομένα* or *γευομένα*. The first *ι* of *θαλπη]ισι* has apparently been deleted by a dot placed above it. *θάλπησι* also MSS. Jebb reads *θάλπῃσι* with Weir Smyth.

8. *τ' ἐλπ[ὶς (δι)αιθύσσῃ: ἐλπὶς δ' αἰθύσσει (δ' ἐνθ.* E) MSS., *δ' ἐλπὶς διαιθύσσει* Erfurdt, *δ' ἐλπ. διαιθύσσῃ* Blass. The *τ'* of the papyrus implies a subjunctive, but there is not room for *διαιθυσσῃι* in the lacuna. Possibly *αιθυσσηι* was written (the loss of *δι* would be easy before *αι*), though this too makes a rather long supplement even when the three iotas and the *ρ* are allowed for.

9–10. *ἃ μειγνυμέν[α . . . ἀνδράσιν*: *ἀναμιγνυμένα . . . ἀνδράσι δ'* MSS., *ἀμμειγνυμένα* editors. The reading of the papyrus is probably correct.

11. *αὐτίκα μέν*: Kaibel's conjecture for the MSS. reading *αὐτὴ μέν* or *αὐτὰς μέν* is confirmed; *αὐτίχ' ὁ μέν* Bergk, *εὐκτιμενᾶν* Blass.

κράδε]μνα λ[ύει: the MSS. have the unmetrical *κρήδεμνον*, which has been corrected by editors. Blass alters *λύει* to *λύσειν* on the ground that the lengthening of the *υ* would not accord with the practice of Bacchylides or Pindar, but the traditional reading is defended by Jebb.

13–14. *μαρμ]αίρ[ουσιν . . . αἰγλάεντ]α πό[ντον*: the letters *]αιρ[* and *]α πο[* are on a detached fragment which is placed here with hesitation, since the appearance of the verso is somewhat dissimilar from the adjacent portion of Fr. 1. The combination is the more precarious because *πόντον* is a conjecture (Erfurdt), though a very probable one; *αἰγλήεντα νῆες* MSS., a spondee being lost. Bergk inserted *καρπόν* after *αἰγλάεντα*, and this was adopted by Blass, who, however, placed it after *νᾶες*, mistakenly, as the papyrus now shows.

17. The accent and breathing above the supposed *ω* are doubtful.

18. This line should begin with a dactyl, for which the space before *ουπ* seems barely sufficient. Possibly there was a wrong division of ll. 17–18, or some other dislocation.

23. The tops of the letters only remain; the first, third, and fourth were round, but are not to be clearly identified.

Frs. 2–3. The strong similarity of the verso of these two fragments to that of Fr. 1 makes it probable that they belong to the same column. In Fr. 3, moreover, there is at the right-hand edge some suggestion of a selis, and if this roughly corresponded with the selis in the middle of Fr. 1, the remains of Fr. 3 would fit in with the metrical scheme, on the supposition that l. 4 (the last of the column) was the first verse of the stanza. But Fr. 3. 2 does not lend itself to combination with Fr. 1. 23.

Fr. 3. 2–3. There is much resemblance here to Bacch. Fr. 34 *ὀργαὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπων διακεκριμέναι μυρίαι*, but though *ορ[* is quite possible in l. 2, and the doubtful *σ* at the end of l. 3 may be *ε*, the preceding letter was apparently not *κ*. Of course if Bacch. Fr. 34 were to be identified here, Fr. 3 would belong, if not to a different column from Fr. 1, at any rate to a different poem. A small dot over the final *ν* of *ανθρωπων* is probably accidental.

Fr. 4. 1–10. 'For Hiero of Syracuse.

'Let me not yet lay aside the clear-sounding lyre; I am now about to fashion a fair flower of the gold-robed Muses for Hiero, renowned for his chestnut steeds, with those who share his banquet, and to send it to well-builded Aetna. If in former time I have sung of Pherenicus, famed among steeds for his swiftness of foot, and of his victory by the Alpheus . . .'

2. Line 14 shows that this verse was a trimeter, but whether the last *μέτρον* was – ∪ – – or – ∪ – is not clear.

3. For *κλυτῷ* cf. e. g. Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 37 *στεφάνοισί νιν ἵπποις τε κλυτάν*.

8–10. If *['Αλφει]ῷ* (Murray) is right, the reference is to Ode v, which celebrated Hiero's victory with Pherenicus at Olympia in 476 B. C. For the supplement suggested for the end of l. 8 cf. ll. 182–4 of that poem *ἔνθ' ὁ κλεεννὸς ποσσὶ νικάσας δρόμῳ [ἦλθ]εν Φερένικος*.

11–12. Murray suggests *[πλη]ρ[ὲ ἐρεπ]τόμενος [Μουσᾶν ἐπαλ]λὲ ἄνθε'*, but *ἄνθε'* does not suit the remains in l. 12. *τομενος* may of course be *τὸ μένος*. In l. 11 a vestige of ink at one letter's distance from *ρ* may be either the top of a *φ* or *ψ*, or of some interlinear mark, e. g. a breathing.

13 sqq. It seems clear that these verses do not form an epode but follow the metre of the strophe. What remains of ll. 13–15 fits readily into the previous scheme, and the shortness of the next two lines also accords with it.

15. *]μος*: or possibly *]μο[ι]ς*.

Fr. 5. 1. *καμ[*: or *καν[*.

2. Perhaps *Ποσειδα]ονίας*; cf. l. 16.

4. The first letter, of which the lower half only remains, may be *γ*, *ι*, *ρ*, or *τ*.

7. *γ*, *ι*, *μ*, *ρ*, *τ*, *υ* would be possible after *πα*. Perhaps *πατρ[ός* should be restored; cf. l. 6.

8. The vestige following *σ* in the second line of the marginal note may either belong to a letter, e. g. *τ*, or be a stop; cf. e. g. Fr. 21. 5.

12–13. *ἀλλά* after the stop is doubtless the conjunction, and the second accent shows that an enclitic followed; *τ[οι* or *ν[ιν*, e. g., would be suitable. In l. 13 the deleted *ν* points to the termination of a verb, preceded by something like *ὡς* or *ὅτε*. *κρατερᾱ* is presumably to be constructed with *αναγκαι* in spite of the absence of the iota adscript. In the marginal variant the infinitive *τεκ]εῖν* (?) was apparently made to depend on the phrase *χρόνος ἔμολε*, or

whatever the verb was. The grammarian to whom this reading is ascribed may well be Ptolemaeus of Ascalon or Ptolemaeus Pindarion, more probably the latter, if his second name may be taken to indicate an interest in the lyric poets. It may be doubted whether the son of Aristonicus flourished early enough to be quoted here.

24. κ[α]λλισφύραν is presumably a variant for some similar epithet, e. g. ταvίσφυρον, which occurred in the lacuna. The word is normally of two terminations.

ii. 2. For the marginal cross here and below cf. e. g. **841** *passim*. In **1174** this symbol, which is used much like our N.B., is sometimes surmounted by a small iota.

Fr. 6. There is a close resemblance in appearance between this fragment and the upper part of Fr. 5. i; but we have not succeeded in finding a suitable combination.

Fr. 7. 3. Either μ[ε]λπο[or -μ[ο]λπο[.

Fr. 8. This fragment, though in some ways similar to Fr. 7, is apparently not to be joined on at the bottom of it. There is a junction of two selides on the right-hand side.

Fr. 9. 3. θεοπο[μπ: cf. Bacch. xvi. 132. The fragment is rather like Frs. 7–8, but a combination of this line with Fr. 7. 6 θεόπο[μπ]ον has little probability.

Fr. 10. 3.]πόσιν: the first letter may be read as η or μ, but these are more difficult.

Fr. 11. A junction of two selides passes through the ν of μαινόλις.

Fr. 12. 4. Cf. Eurip. *Alc.* 570 εὐλύρας Ἀπόλλων. A dot in the ο of φοι gives that letter rather the appearance of θ, but the mark, if ink, is with little doubt an accident.

Fr. 13. 2. The vestige after δειλωι might be regarded as a low stop.

Fr. 14. There is a junction of two selides at the right-hand edge of this fragment; possibly, therefore, it belonged to the same column as Fr. 8. It is similarly rather worn, but of a lighter colour.

Fr. 18. 1. There is an ink-spot below the doubtful α.

3. That the mark above the partially preserved ω represents a rough breathing is uncertain.

Fr. 19. 7. An ink-spot over the α does not look like part of a circumflex or mark of quantity, and was probably accidental.

Fr. 21. A junction of selides occurs to the right of this piece, which, however, differs in appearance from Frs. 8 and 14.

Fr. 22. 5. The mark of elision is doubtfully identified.

Fr. 24. 3. υ and ι being both narrow letters, λε[ύκι]ππος does not overcrowd the lacuna.

Fr. 25. 5. Whether two thick ink-marks, which occur in the margin at the point of fracture just below this line, had any meaning is uncertain.

Fr. 26. 3. οινω[is in keeping with the class of poems represented in these fragments; cf. introd.

Fr. 27. 1. Or] . ἐρεῖ πε[. But the accent is uncertain.

Fr. 29. Two selides meet just in front of this column, which must therefore be different from Fr. 5. ii, Fr. 25, and Fr. 33.

Fr. 33. 2. There is a mark of ink on the edge of the papyrus in front of this line.

Fr. 39. A reddish stain on this fragment makes it look rather similar to the top of Fr. 4, but it does not seem to belong there, although]ηκ[might be read in l. 1.

Fr. 42. 2. That this line was the last of a column seems probable, but is not certain.

Fr. 44. 1. The shape of the ο indicates which way up the fragment is to be turned.

Fr. 45. 1. A dot above the supposed ι of l. 2 may be the vestige of a long letter, φ or ψ, preceding . ε[.

Fr. 48. It is hardly certain that this fragment belongs to **1361**.

1362. CALLIMACHUS, *Aetia*.

Fr. 1 24·4 × 18·5 cm. First century. Plate IV (Fr. 1. Col. i).

Callimachus, who for a long time was poorly represented in the papyri, has during the last few years been obtaining the position which he might reasonably be expected to occupy. The publication of the important Oxyrhynchus fragments of the *Aetia* and *Iambi* (**1011**) was followed by that of pieces of various poems from a papyrus book of which remains were identified both at Berlin (Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1912, pp. 524 sqq., 1914, pp. 222 sqq.) and Florence (P. S. I. 133), and of a scrap from the first book of the *Aetia* in P. Rylands 13 (cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xlvi. 3). To these are now to be added the further fragments of the *Aetia* and *Iambi* contained in **1362** and **1363**. The former consists of remains of two columns, the first of which is nearly complete, with some minor pieces which are with one exception likely to belong to the mutilated second column. They are written in a round, rather ornate uncial hand of medium size, attributable to the first century. Though no doubt of earlier date, this script has much in common with e. g. **1375** and the Bodleian Homer from Hawara; among the differentiating features are the shapes of ε, θ, μ and the 'Ptolemaic' ξ, for which cf. e. g. **1361**. Stops (in two positions, high and medial), some accents, breathings, &c., have been supplied subsequently, as is clear from the different shade of the ink; they may perhaps be due to the corrector who has made slight alterations here and there in the text.

The authorship of the piece, which in any case would not have been difficult to guess, is at once established by several coincidences with extant fragments of Callimachus. Its subject is a conversation with a man named Theogenes from the island of Icus, who is questioned by the poet concerning the

association of Peleus with Icus and the ceremonies with which it was celebrated. This conversation took place at a banquet given, as we are told by Athenaeus (xi. 477 c; cf. note on l. 8), by Pollis, an Athenian. Critics have objected to the statement of Athenaeus that Pollis is not an Athenian name, and Meineke proposed to emend Ἀθηναίῳ to Θηβαίῳ, and to infer that Thebes was among the Greek cities visited by Callimachus (*ap.* Schneider, *Callim.* ii, p. 378). But it is now clear that the scene was Egypt, not Greece (l. 6); and the Athenian

Fr. 1. Col. i. Plate IV.

ηωσουδεπιθοιγ[[ε]]ισελανθανενουδ̈τεδουλοισ
ημαρορεστειοιλευκοναγουσιχοεσ·
ικαριουκαιπαιδοσαγωνεπετιονἀγιστῦν
ατθίσινοικτίστησονφαοσηριγονη
εσδαιτηνεκαλεσσενομηθέασ·ενδενυτοισι
ξεινονοσα[.]γυπτωικαινοσανεστραφετο
μεμβλωκωσιδιοντικαταχρεοσ·ἣνδεγενεθλην
ἰκιοσῶ·ξυνηνειχονεγωκλισιην
ουκεπιτάξαλλαινοσομηρικοσ·αιενομοιον
ωσθεοσουψευδησὲστονομοιοναγει·
καιγαροθρηικιηνμεναπέστυγεχανδονάμυστιν
οινοποτειν·ολιγωιδὴδετοκισσυβιωι·
τωιμεγωταδελεξαπεριστέιχοντοσαλεισου
τοτριτονευτεδαηνουνομακαιγενεην·
ημαλεποστόδαληθεσοτουμονονϋδατοσαισαν
αλλετικαιλεσχησοινοσεχεινεθελει
τηνημεισ·ουκεγγ[.]ραρυστηρεσσιφορειται
ουδέμινεισατ[. . . .] . οφρυασοινοχοων
αιτησεισορόω[.]οτελευθεροσάτμένασαινει·
βαλλωμενχαλεπωιφαρμακονεπωματι
θέυγενεσ·οσ[.] . εμειοσ[.]θεπάραθυμοσακουσαι
[[ε]]ιχάινειταδεμοιλ[.]ξον[. . . . . .]ωι·
μυρμιδονωνὲσσῆνατ[. . . . . .]μμισεβεσθαι
πηλεα·κωσ[[ε]]ικω·ξυν[. . . . . .]κα·

origin of Pollis is no less evident from ll. 1–4, the point of which is that, though living in a foreign country, he took care to observe the Athenian festivals.

The obvious aetiological drift of ll. 21 sqq. leaves no doubt that the poem is the *Aetia*, though the precise book is uncertain. Schneider supposed that Fr. 372, containing the reference to Peleus, occurred in Book i, and if that book treated of various festivals, it would be an appropriate source for a discussion of the peculiar ritual of Icus. But this attribution seems for the present quite conjectural; and the question in any case is of no great importance.

In the decipherment of this text material assistance has been rendered by Mr. E. Lobel.

Fr. 1. Col. i. Plate IV.

ἠὼς οὐδὲ πιθοιγὶς ἐλάνθανεν οὐδ' ὅτε δούλοις
ἦμαρ Ὀρέστειοι λευκὸν ἄγουσι χόες,
Ἰκαρίου καὶ παιδὸς ἄγων ἐπέτειον ἀγιστύν,
Ἀθθίσιν οἰκτίστη, σὸν φάος, Ἠριγόνη,
ἐς δαίτην ἐκάλεσσεν ὁμηθέας, ἐν δέ νυ τοῖσι
ξεῖνον ὃς Α[ἰ]γύπτῳ καινὸς ἀνεστρέφετο
μεμβλωκὼς ἴδιόν τι κατὰ χρέος· ἦν δὲ γενέθλην
Ἴκιος, ᾧ ξυνὴν εἶχον ἐγὼ κλισίην
οὐκ ἐπιτάξ, ἀλλ' αἶνος Ὁμηρικός, αἰὲν ὅμοιον
ὡς θεός, οὐ ψευδής, ἐς τὸν ὅμοιον ἄγει.
καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θρηικίην μὲν ἀπέστυγε χανδὸν ἄμυστιν
οἰνοποτεῖν, ὀλίγῳ δ' ἥδετο κισσυβίῳ.
τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ τάδ' ἔλεξα περιστείχοντος ἀλείσου
τὸ τρίτον, εὖτ' ἐδάην οὔνομα καὶ γενεήν,
Ἦ μάλ' ἔπος τόδ' ἀληθὲς ὅτ' οὐ μόνον ὕδατος αἶσαν
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ λέσχης οἶνος ἔχειν ἐθέλει·
τὴν ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἐν γ[ὰ]ρ ἀρυστήρεσσι φορεῖται
οὐδέ μιν εἰς ἀτ[. . . .] . ὀφρύας οἰνοχόων
αἰτήσεις ὀρόω[ν] ὅτ' ἐλεύθερος ἀτμένα σαίνει,
βάλλωμεν χαλεπῷ φάρμακον ἐν πόματι,
Θεύγενες, ὅσσ[α] δ' ἐμεῖο σ[έ]θεν πάρα θυμὸς ἀκοῦσαι
ἰχαίνει, τάδε μοι λ[έ]ξον [ἀνειρομέν]ῳ·
Μυρμιδόνων ἐσσῆνα τ[ί πάτριον ὔ]μμι σέβεσθαι
Πηλέα, κῶς Ἴκῳ ξυν[. . . . . .]κα,

τευδενεκενγήτειονϊδ[. .]υτ[. . . .]ρτονεχουσα

Col. ii.

ηρωοσκα[.]οδουπα[
ειδοτεσωσενεπου[
κεινηνηπερισηγ[
ουθετερηνεγνωκα·τ[
ουαταμυθεισθαιβο . [
τ[. . .]εμεθενλεξαντο[
τ[. . .]μακαρῆπαυρωνο[
[. . . . .]λιησεινηϊνε[
[. . . . . .]θυιησμα[

Fr. 2.

. . .
. ευτ[
]ην[
]ργερ . [
]ομη[
] . νεσσ[
] . ἰπα . [
]ρτροι[
] . [
. . .

Fr. 3.

. . .
]
]ακακειθ[
]ν
. . .

Fr. 4.

. . .
. . [
καιδι[
πληγ[
δέιελο[
καιμιναπο[
αυλίονοθν[

Fr. 5.

] τειχισαν[
]τερωγο[
]λωσκακ[
]κελη̣θ[
. . . .

τεῦ δ' ἕνεκεν γήτειον ἰδ[. .]υτ[. . . ἄ]ρτον ἔχουσα

Col. ii.

ἥρωος κα[θ]όδου πα[ῖς
εἰδότες ὡς ἐνέπου[σι
κείνην ἢ περὶ σὴν [
οὔθ' ἑτέρην ἔγνωκα· τ[
οὔατα μυθεῖσθαι βο . [
τ[αὖτ'] ἐμέθεν λέξαντο[ς
τ[ρισ]μάκαρ, ἦ παύρων ὄ[λβιός ἐσσι μέτα,
[ναυτι]λίης εἰ νῆιν ἔ[χεις βίον· ἀλλ' ἐμὸς αἰών
[κύμασιν αἰ]θυίης μᾶ[λλον ἐσῳκίσατο.
. . . . . .

Fr. 2.

. . .
] . ευτ[
]ην[
]ργερ . [
]ομη[
] . νεσσ[
] . ιπα . [
]ρτροι[
] . [
. . .

Fr. 3.

. . . .
]
]ακα κεῖθ[εν
]ν
. . . .

Fr. 4.

. . . .
. . [
καὶ δι[
πληγ[
δείελο[
καί μιν ἀπο[
αὔλιον ὀθν[ει

Fr. 5.

ἐ]τείχισαν [
]τέρῳ γο[
]λως κακ[
] κε ληθ[
. . . .

Fr. 1. 1–26. '. . . Nor did the morning of the opening of the wine-casks escape him, nor that when the Jar-feast of Orestes brings the lucky day for slaves; and celebrating the yearly rite of the daughter of Icarius—thy day, Erigone, who to Athenian women broughtest such woe—he bade kindred spirits to a banquet, and among them a stranger who was a recent dweller in Egypt, having come on some private business. He was by birth an Ician, and I shared his couch, not by design, but the Homeric proverb says truly that the god ever brings like to like; for he was loath to drain off Thracian bumpers of wine, but took pleasure in a modest cup. To him, as the goblet was going round for the third time, when I had learnt his name and race, I said, "It is in sooth a true saying that wine wants to be mixed not with water alone, but also with converse. This is not carried round in ladles, nor will you ask for it regarding the proud looks of the cup-bearers, when the freeman fawns upon the servant; so let us put it ourselves as a salve into the unsoftened draught, Theogenes, and tell me when I ask you all that my heart is eager to learn from you, why is it your country's custom to revere Peleus king of the Myrmidons, how does . . . Icus, and why does a girl with a leek and a . . . loaf (commemorate) the hero's coming?"'

1–2. The object of *ἐλάνθανεν* is Pollis; cf. Athen. xi, p. 477 c quoted in the note on l. 8. *πιθοιγίς* apparently occurs only here. The epithet *Ὀρέστειοι* alludes to the well-known legend which connected the institution of the *Χόες* with the reception of Orestes at Athens by Pandion; cf. e.g. Suidas, s.v. *Χόες*. Though this day like the other days of the Anthesteria was apparently a *dies nefastus* (cf. Photius, s.v. *μιαρὰ ἡμέρα*), for slaves it was *ἦμαρ λευκόν* since it was their privilege to participate in the celebrations; cf. Schol. Hesiod, *Op.* 368 *ἑορτὴ Πιθοιγία, καθ' ἣν οὔτε οἰκέτην οὔτε μισθωτὸν εἴργειν τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τοῦ οἴνου θεμιτὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ θύσαντας πᾶσι μεταδιδόναι τοῦ δώρου τοῦ Διονύσου.*

3–4. The *ἐπέτειος ἀγιστύς* (the substantive only here; cf. P. Rylands 13. 12 *πλαγκτύν*) in honour of Erigone, daughter of Icarius, was the *Αἰώρα*, at which a song called *ἀλῆτις* was sung. This propitiatory festival is said (Hyg. *Astr.* ii. 4) to have been instituted as a means of averting an epidemic of suicide among the women of Athens (cf. *Ἀθίσιν οἰκτίστη*), which followed the death of Erigone. It was an offshoot of the cult of Dionysus, but is not known to have been connected with the Anthesteria, nor need any such connexion be implied by the present passage.

8. *Ἴκιος* here and *Ἴκῳ* in l. 24 were recognized by Wilamowitz, whose restoration of *Ἰκῷ* for *Κῷ* in Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 167 *ὁ Πηλεὺς ἐν Κῷ τῇ νήσῳ . . . ἀπέθανεν, ὡς Καλλίμαχος ἱστορεῖ* (*Hermes*, xliv, p. 475) receives a further confirmation; cf. Schol. Eurip. *Tr.* 1128 *καὶ προσελθεῖν* (sc. *τὸν Πηλέα*) *διὰ χειμῶνα τῇ* (*Ἴ*)*κῳ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ξενισθέντα ὑπὸ Μόλωνός τινος Ἄβαντος ἐκεῖ καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον.* The correct reading had been preserved by the metre in the epigram of Antipater, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 2 *κεύθει καὶ Θέτιδος γαμέτην ἡ βραχύβωλος Ἴκος*, where the shortening of the initial vowel, notwithstanding the scansion of Callimachus, is remarkable. There remains one more passage in which we would suggest that the name of Icus in this connexion has been corrupted, namely Athen. xi, p. 477 c, where ll. 11–14 are cited (= Callim. Fr. 109): *Καλλίμαχος . . . λέγων ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου ξένου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ Πόλλιδι συνεστιασθέντος αὐτῷ· Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θρηικίην κτλ. οἰκείου* here seems meaningless, and Meineke, *ap.* Schneider, *Callim.* ii, p. 378 had already proposed *Κείου*. In view of the proximity of *ξεῖνον* and *Ἴκιος* in ll. 6 and 8, it can hardly be doubted that *Ἰκίου ξένου* is the true reading.

9–10. *ἐπιτάξ* has here the meaning assigned to it by Helladius, *Chrest.* (Phot. *Bibl.* p. 532. 36 a, Bekker) *τὸ ἐπιτὰξ παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ καὶ Ἀράτῳ κείμενον . . . ὃ κατ' ἐπίταγμα καὶ κέλευσιν πράττεται.* Perhaps this is the sense also in **1011**. 239, if *κὴπ*]*ιτάξ* there is rightly supplied. The *αἶνος Ὁμηρικός* is from *ρ* 218 *ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.* Callimachus' text apparently had the usual *ὡς αἰεί* (*αἰεί τοι* Plato, *Lysis.* 214 A, Aristot. 1208 b 10), but *ἐς τὸν ὁμοῖον*, a variant found in many MSS.

Why the second hand rewrote the ο of ου is not evident. A slight trace of ink (?) in the centre suggests that the original letter had some appearance of a θ; possibly θ or ε had been actually written and then amended not quite successfully.

11–14. καὶ γὰρ . . . τὸ τρίτον = Callim. Fr. 109 from Athen. xi, p. 477 c, ll. 11–12 being also found in x, p. 442 f. The reading in the second of these passages coincides with that of the papyrus, whereas in the former ἀπήνατο (l. ἀνήνατο) and ζωροποτεῖν are found in place of ἀπέστυγε and οἰνοποτεῖν, and so too in Macrob. *Sat.* v. 21. Schneider, following Bentley, preferred ἀπέστυγε but not οἰνοποτεῖν; the early testimony of the papyrus should now turn the scale in favour of the latter reading.

15–16. These two verses are quoted anonymously by Athen. i, p. 32 b along with one of Simonides, and the three lines appear together as Simonides Fr. 88 in Bergk's *Poet. Lyr.* The MSS. of Athenaeus have γάρ for μάλ', ἀλλά τι for ἀλλ' ἔτι, and, except L, λεύχης for λέσχης. Kaibel adopted Porson's conjecture ἦν ἄρ' for ἦ γάρ and Bergk's χλεύης for λεύχης, neither of which is confirmed. λέσχης was rightly restored by H. Stephanus (*Anthol.* p. 513) and read by Casaubon and Schweighäuser.

18–19. The restoration and sense of these two verses remains in doubt. In l. 18 ὀφρύας seems inevitable, and the accented ε commends οὐδέ μιν, which, though the doubtful ι might be ε, is more likely than οὐδ' ἔμεν. The following vowel may be either ε or ο; if εἰς is right, ατ . . . should be an epithet of either ὀφρύας or οἰνοχόων, preferably the former, since the exiguous traces of the letter after the lacuna suit ς better than ν. ἀτενεῖς, ἀτρεμεῖς, ἀτρόμους, ἀτρόπους might serve. ἀτμένα σαίνει is more in accord with the tenor of the passage than ἀτμένας αἰνεῖ, and the clause ὅτ' . . . σαίνει is apparently a general description of the attitude of the guest on such occasions. It is hardly likely that an allusion is to be recognized to the license permitted to slaves at the Anthesteria (cf. note on ll. 1–2), with which, so far as is known, the Αἰώρα, as remarked above, had nothing to do. The double accentuation of ἀτμένα may have arisen from confusion with ἄτμενος.

22. ιχαινει apparently = ἰχανᾷ, a form found in Babrius 77. 2, Herondas 7. 25, Hesych., &c. ἰχαίνειν is not otherwise attested, but is credible enough. For ἀνειρομένῳ cf. the Berlin fragment in *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.* 1914, p. 224 ὅσσα δ' ἀνειρομένῳ φῇ[σ]ε, τάδ' ἐξερέω.

23. Μυρμιδόνων ἐσσῆνα = Callim. Fr. 508. The rough breathing apparently given to ἐσσῆνα in the papyrus may reflect a supposed connexion with ἑσμός; cf. Etym. Magn. 383. 30 ἐσσήν . . . ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ μελισσῶν βασιλέως: derivations from ἔσσαι and ἡσσᾶν are also there suggested.

24. Πηλέα . . . Ἰκῳ; cf. Callim. Fr. 372 and note on l. 8 above. At the end of the verse]κα may be either an acc. sing. of some noun in -ξ or a neut. plur. ξυν[ὰ τὰ Θεσσαλι]κά, which Lobel suggests, would give a suitable sense. For κῶς cf. **1011**. 4, 18 κοτέ.

25–6. A leek and a loaf were apparently the accompaniments of some ritual act performed by a girl. For the former cf. e. g. the use of πράσα at the archaic feast of the Dioscuri at Athens (Athen. iv, p. 137 e) and of γηθυλλίδες at the Theoxenia at Delphi (id. ix, p. 372 a). [. .]υτ[. . . is presumably an epithet of ἄ]ρτον; there must have been at least two letters between ιδ and ν, so that ε]υτ . . . is excluded unless the ε of ἰδέ was unelided, which is not at all likely. πα[in l. 26 suggests πα[ῖς or πα[ρθένος.

30. βο is followed by remains of a perpendicular stroke.

32–4 = Callim. Fr. 111. 2–4, which are now proved to have no connexion with the verse ἔνθ' ἀνέμων μεγάλων κῦμα διαλύγιον associated with them by editors against the indications in Stobaeus. Schneider's conjectural reconstruction of the context, as might be expected, also turns out to be wrong. On the other hand the first words of l. 33, which are given in the MSS. as ναυτιλίῃσιν ἦν, had been successfully emended, Bentley's νῆιν and Nauck's εἰ (ὅς Bentley) being now confirmed.

Frs. 2–4. These may be assigned with probability to the second column of Fr. 1, Fr. 4 being from the bottom of it. Fr. 5, which is of a lighter colour than the rest, is from the top of a different column.

Fr. 4. 4. δείελο[: this line possibly = Callim. Fr. 190 *δείελον αἰτίζουσιν, ἄγουσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀπ' ἔργου.*

5. απο[: or απε[.

6. *αὔλιον* is probably the substantive, as the paroxytone accent will then be intelligible, though abnormal.

1363. CALLIMACHUS, *Iambi.*

10·3 × 2·6 cm. Second or early third century. Plate VI.

The identification of this fragment is assured by the occurrence in ll. 5–7 of Callimachus Fr. 86, where an acute emendation of Bentley receives confirmation. Unfortunately both beginnings and ends of lines are missing throughout, and the loss is too serious for a satisfactory restoration. It seems fairly clear, however, that Schneider's suggestion that the persons addressed in Fr. 86 were *ἄθεοι* in general (*Callim.* i, p. 252) was wide of the mark, for the context here deals with poetry and literary matters. The poet is apparently apostrophizing various classes of writers. There is a close similarity between this piece and Fol. 6 of **1011**, and they may well be parts of the same poem.

This text is on the verso of a narrow strip which on the recto has the beginnings of a dozen lines of, apparently, some official list drawn up towards the end of the second century. The writing on the verso is a small informal uncial which does not seem to be appreciably later in date; it may fall within the second century or belong to the beginning of the third. Stops, which are in the high position, accents, and breathings are with little doubt due to a second hand, and the mark of elision in l. 3 should perhaps be classed with these; the diaeresis in l. 5, on the contrary, is most probably original.

. . . . . .
[. . . .] . . β[
[. . . . α]ὐδρες οι νῦν [
[. . . . κα]τήυλησθ' οι με[
[. . . . .]τε Μουσεων κα[ι
[ες το πρ]ο τέιχευς ἱρον [ἀλεες δευτε
[ου τον] πάλαι Πάγχαιο[ν ο πλασας Ζανα
[γερων] λαλἀζων άδι[κα βιβλια ψηχει (?)

[. . . . .]ι̣ γαρ εντος ου[
[. . . . .]άγη τις· η πολ[
[. . . .]ι̣ντα βωμόι τ[
[. . . .]α̣ι̣ προς Αιδην [
[. . . . αν]δρες ὁκόσοι βο̣[
[. . τραγ]ω̣δοι μουσα τ̣[
[. . . . . φ]θ̣ονος τις εμ[
[. . . .] δ̣ε και τὸν ὁς χ[
[. . . .]ν̣ εται̣ρην ατ[
[. . . . . ἴ]αμβον οστι̣[ς
[. . . .] . ὡς τις τους ν[
[. . . .]ά̣μετρα τοις [
[. . . . .]ν οστις τηι̣ [
[. . . . . π]ολλους· εν[
[. . . . . α]νδρες· ως̣ [
[. . . . .] εκ γῆς ηλπ̣[ισ
[. . . . .]μένουσιν̣[
[. . . . .]η̣στην πν[
[. . . . .]ως μητο̣[
[. . . . .] και γρ[
[. . . . . ε]ξ̣αρκ[
[. . . . .] ¯ μαι[
[. . . . .]δ[̂] . [

. . . . . .

5–7 = Callim. Fr. 86. In l. 5 ἱερόν is the MSS. reading, which had been corrected by Meineke. The rough breathing on αλεες is doubtfully identified; a smooth one would be equally possible. In l. 6 Παγχαῖον (so normally accented) was Bentley's correction of the traditional χάλκεον. The remains of the first letter of l. 7 are inconsistent with ν, and λαλαζων was apparently written, though the grave accent on the α implies ἀλαζών, the ordinary reading, which there is no reason to doubt. Since a new sentence begins at l. 8, a finite verb seems to be required after βιβλία, and ψήχων which Schneider adopts from Sextus Empiricus is unlikely to be right. Other sources give ψύχει or ψῦχε, of which the former was defended by Reiske; ψήχει Bentley, ψῆχε Dübner, ξύει Toup.

10.]ντα: or]αιτα,]λιτα, &c.

11.]αι: or ν.

13. It is rather tempting to identify this line with Callim. Fr. 98 c, which is given in Schol. Saibant. on Hephaest. p. 36, Gaisf. ii in the form ἥτις τραγῳδὸς μοῦσα ληκυθίζουσα. Unfortunately the letter after μουσα is uncertain. A vestige of the top of it suggests a τ,

and λ, though perhaps not impossible, is unsatisfactory, since some of the lower part should be visible. It would therefore be rash, in spite of the similarity to Fr. 98 c, to assume that the first part of the line as given by Schol. Saibant. is corrupt.

19. [τὰ πεντ]άμετρα is likely on the analogy of **1011**. 313, 366.

25.]ει,]αι, or]λι are also possible before σ.

29. The supposed mark of length may be a rough breathing.

1364. Antiphon Sophistes, Περὶ Ἀληθείας i.

Fr. 1 22·3 × 38 cm. Early third century. Plate V (Fr. 1. Cols. v–vii).

The following fragments are written in a good-sized, sloping hand strongly resembling that of 7 (Sappho; Part I, Plate ii), and dating probably from the opening decades of the third century. As in 463, an analogous though perhaps rather earlier specimen of the same type, the columns are narrow and somewhat short, the written surface measuring approximately 17 by 4½–5 cm.; in 463 they were about 16 × 5 cm. It is noticeable that the ξ is formed by three distinct strokes, the comma-shaped middle stroke as a rule not touching either of the two horizontal ones. At the ends of lines the size of the letters was sometimes considerably diminished, but the scribe was nevertheless not very successful in maintaining a uniform length; the common angular sign is used as a supplement here and there. Some alterations have been introduced into the text by a corrector to whom are likely to be due the occasional accents, breathings, and marks of elision and quantity (e. g. l. 113). Perhaps he was also responsible for the punctuation, for which high and medial dots were usually employed; of the low dot only one instance occurs (l. 289). In any case, however, these additions may be regarded as practically contemporary.

The authorship of the fragment is fortunately established by the coincidence, pointed out to us by Wilamowitz, of ll. 18–20 with a citation in Harpocration from the treatise of Antiphon 'On Truth' (Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, ii, p. 298, Fr. 44). This is the sophist Antiphon, to be distinguished from his more famous contemporary, the orator Antiphon of Rhamnus. There was much confusion between the two, and their identity and the attribution of their writings early gave rise to discussion; cf. Hermog., *De ideis*, ii. 11. 7. Concerning the sophist few facts are known (see H. Sauppe in *Ausgew. Schriften*, 508 sqq., Blass, *Att. Bereds.* i. 108 sqq., Zeller, *Gr. Phil.* i. 1070, Gomperz, *Gr. Denker*, i, pp. 434 sqq., Engl. ed.). Suidas describes him as Ἀθηναῖος τερατοσκόπος καὶ ἐποποιὸς καὶ σοφιστής· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Λογομάγειρος, and attributes to him a work Περὶ κρίσεως ὀνείρων. Arguments between him and Socrates are reported by Xenophon, *Mem.* i. 6, and Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τερατοσκόπος is mentioned as one of Socrates' opponents

by Aristotle (*ap.* Diog. Laert. ii. 46). Besides the treatises 'On Truth' and 'On the Interpretation of Dreams', Antiphon is commonly credited with a work Περὶ ὁμονοίας, which is praised by Philostratus (*Vit. Sophist.* i. 15) and quoted at some length by Stobaeus, and more doubtfully with another called Πολιτικός, of which a few words and phrases are preserved. The Περὶ ἀληθείας was in two books, and the surviving remains go to show that the first of them dealt with metaphysics, the second with physics. Blass, however (*De Antiphonte Sophista Iamblichi auctore*, p. 12), had already argued from certain fragments cited from Book i (e. g. 2, 14, 17) that, besides metaphysical problems, questions of human conduct were discussed in it. This judgement finds its justification in the present papyrus, which proves that the ethical and political speculations of Antiphon were not limited to the Περὶ ὁμονοίας and the Πολιτικός, but had some expression also in the Περὶ ἀληθείας. That 1364 is from the first book of that treatise is not certain, though eminently probable in view of the analogous fragments to which attention was called by Blass; it may be noted too that φύσις and νόμος, so prominent in 1364, are opposed in a fragment from Book i (Ant. Fr. 15), though the contrast there is of a different kind. Since the 400th στίχος is marked in l. 188, the section here recovered occurred in the earlier part of the book.

The papyrus consists of two main fragments with some small pieces, the place of which we have not been able to find. In Fr. 1, which contains six consecutive columns nearly complete and the beginnings of lines of a seventh, the subject throughout is the antithesis between law and nature. After defining justice as the observance of law, the writer proceeds to maintain that it is advantageous to disregard the law and follow nature when this can be done without detection. The laws of man may be broken with impunity, but not the laws of nature, and they are often in antagonism. Laws are a restraint on nature, and in so far are irksome and painful, i. e. harmful. Obedience to specific laws may also involve a positive loss of pleasure or increase of pain. Nor do the laws sufficiently counterbalance these defects by the advantages attaching to obedience. The position of Fr. 2 relatively to Fr. 1 is unknown, but at least one column intervened between them if Fr. 2 followed Fr. 1, and apparently a gap must also be postulated if the order is reversed. This fragment contains the ends of some lines of one column and the greater part of a second. The subject is still φύσις, but in a rather different aspect. Antiphon is here maintaining the unnaturalness of distinctions of class and race. Men are all alike in their physical functions and requirements; the barbarian is not differentiated by nature from the Hellene.

This opposition between φύσις and νόμος, fundamental in the later sophistic

ethics, was, of course, not new. The antithesis is said to have been formulated by Archelaus, the pupil of Anaxagoras and teacher of Socrates (Diog. Laert. ii. 4 ἔλεγε . . . καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ). Hippias in Xen. *Mem.* iv. 4. 14 emphasizes the diversity of laws in different localities, and Plato puts into his mouth language analogous to that of Antiphon in ll. 59–63 below (*Prot.* 337 c ὁ δὲ νόμος, τύραννος ὢν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν βιάζεται). Similarly Protagoras in the *Theaetetus* (167 c) is made to remark on the conventionality and instability of right. Plato's views as to the ill effects of the doctrine may be read in *Laws* 889 d–e. But no such elaborate exposition of it as that here recovered has survived from the age of the older sophists. Remarkable too are the practical applications which Antiphon was apparently prepared to make of his theory. Gomperz has observed in connexion with this very philosopher that 'it was a sheer impossibility for the sophists . . . to promulgate anti-social doctrines' (*Gr. Denker*, i, p. 436, Engl. ed.). Teaching which explicitly justified furtive breaches of the law (ll. 12–23, 36–43), and treated obedience as merely a question of personal expediency (ll. 56 sqq.), cannot, to say the least, be regarded as pro-social. In his insistance on the artificiality of distinctions of birth Antiphon appears in a more favourable light. Here too the papyrus is likely to provide a *locus classicus*. Similar ideas are expressed e. g. by Euripides (Fr. 168 ὀνόματι μέμπτον τὸ νόθον, ἡ φύσις δ' ἴση, Fr. 336 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλὸς εὐγενής, *Ion* 854–6), but it would not be easy to find a more striking anticipation of the cosmopolitan ideal of the Cynics than that contained in Fr. 2. The judgement of E. Jacoby, *De Ant. Soph.* Περὶ ὁμονοίας, 1908, p. 29, that Antiphon *a Cynicorum grege rerum naturae veritatem imitantium vehementer abhorreat* turns out to be singularly wide of the mark.

By its revelation of the views professed by Antiphon on the subject of nature and law **1364** gives the *coup de grâce* to Blass's theory (*De Antiphonte Sophista Iamblichi auctore*) that certain passages in the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus, which he acutely recognized as taken from an old Attic writer, were derived from our sophist. This attribution was contested on stylistic grounds by K. Töpfer (*xxi. Jahresb. d. Gymn. in Ainau*, 1902) and E. Jacoby (*op. cit.*), and rejected by Wilamowitz (*Aristot. u. Athen*, i. 174), but accepted without reserve by Gomperz (*op. cit.* i, pp. 435 sqq., 585). Unfortunately one of the arguments used by Blass was the absence in the remains of Antiphon of this very doctrine about law and nature of which he is now seen to have been so thorough-going an exponent. The author of the passages in the *Protrepticus* held very different opinions. It is clear that such sentences as οὐκ ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαν ὁρμᾶν δεῖ οὐδὲ τὸ κράτος . . . ἡγεῖσθαι ἀρετὴν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν νόμων ὑπακούειν δειλίαν . . . φύσει γὰρ ἰσχυρᾷ ἐνδεδέσθαι ταῦτα (sc. τόν τε νόμον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον) and ἡ μὲν εὐνομία

ἄριστον εἴη καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, ἡ ἀνομία δὲ κάκιστον (Blass, Frs. E, F = Iambl. pp. 100, 101 Pist.) can no longer be attributed to the sophist Antiphon.

The estimate of the literary qualities of the Περὶ ἀληθείας found in Hermogenes, *De ideis*, ii. 11. 17 is on the whole borne out by the new fragments; cf. the careful analysis of Antiphon's style by Jacoby, *op. cit.* pp. 48 sqq., based largely on the remnants of the Περὶ ὁμονοίας. After remarking that Thucydides was πολλῷ κεχωρισμένον (from Antiphon the orator) καὶ κεκοινηκότα τῷ εἴδει τῶν τῆς Ἀληθείας λόγων Hermogenes continues (c. 9) ὁ δ' ἕτερος Ἀντιφῶν, οὗπερ οἱ τῆς Ἀληθείας εἰσὶ λεγόμενοι λόγοι, πολιτικὸς μὲν ἥκιστά ἐστι, σεμνὸς δὲ καὶ ὑπέρογκος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ δι' ἀποφάνσεων περαίνειν τὸ πᾶν, ὃ δὴ τοῦ ἀξιωματικοῦ τε λόγου ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς μέγεθος ὁρῶντος, ὑψηλὸς δὲ τῇ λέξει καὶ τραχύς, ὥστε μὴ πόρρω σκληρότητος εἶναι. καὶ περιβάλλει δὲ χωρὶς εὐκρινείας, διὸ καὶ συγχεῖ τὸν λόγον καὶ ἔστιν ἀσαφὴς τὰ πολλά. καὶ ἐπιμελὴς δὲ κατὰ τὴν συνθήκην καὶ ταῖς παρισώσεσι χαίρων, οὐ μὴν ἤθους γέ τι οὐδ' ἀληθινοῦ τύπου μέτεστι τῷ ἀνδρί, φαίην δ' ἂν ὡς οὐδὲ δεινότητος πλὴν τῆς φαινομένης μέν, οὐ μὴν οὔσης γε ὡς ἀληθῶς. One obvious detail in common with Thucydides is the spelling ξυν, which is consistently written in the papyrus. On the other hand ττ is found in ll. 151, 164; the previously extant fragments show σσ three times (Fr. 54 ἔλασσον, Fr. 61 ἐκπλήσσοιντο, Fr. 76 ἡσσώμενον), ττ in other places. An instance of an Ionicism occurs in l. 116 ἥδοντα. The writer's tendency to poetical language may be seen in the metaphorical use of δεσμός in l. 104, and his tendency to poetical rhythm in the iambic trimeter in ll. 20–3; cf. note *ad loc.* A fondness for synonyms remarked in the extant fragments is further exemplified by ll. 266–7, 270–1. Parallelism and antithesis are prominent, and Hermogenes was clearly right in saying that Antiphon was ἐπιμελὴς κατὰ τὴν συνθήκην καὶ ταῖς παρισώσεσι χαίρων. The characteristic τὸ δι' ἀποφάνσεων περαίνειν is also much in evidence. Emphasis is sometimes gained by adding negative to affirmative clauses, as in ll. 161–2; and the not infrequent omission of the verb εἶναι helps to give a sententious effect. Hermogenes' imputations of obscurity and superficiality were probably not altogether ill-founded. The argument in ll. 84 sqq. seems rather lacking in lucidity. Still, for the most part the writer puts his points clearly and forcibly enough, and the ornate style is effective and not unpleasing. These fragments are a notable addition to the relics of early Attic prose, and are of real interest for the history of Greek literature as well as for that of Greek philosophy.

Fr. 1.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
[. . . . .]θου	θ[ε]ντα [[ο̣]ν̣χ̣ [ο]]››
[. . . . .]η›	35 [[μολογηθεν]]››

[. . . . .]με
[. . . . .]νευ
[. . . . .]μι>
[. . .] δικα[ιοσ]υνη
[πα]ντα της πο
[λεω]ς νομιμα·
[εν] ῃ αν πολι
[τευ]ηται τις μη
[παρ]αβαινειν·
ι
χρῶτ' αν ουν
ανθρωπος μα
λιστα [[θ]]' εαυτωι
ξυμφ[ε]ροντως
δικαιοσυνηι· ει
μετα μεν μαρ
τυρων τ[ο]υς νο
μους μεγα[λο]υς
αγοι· μονουμε
νος δε μαρτυ
ρων τα της φυ
σεως· τα μεν γαρ
των νομων
[επιθ]ετα· τα δε
[της] φυσεως α>
[ναγ]καια· και τα
[μεν] των νο>
[μω]ν ομολογη
[θεντ]α ου φυν
[τ εστι]ν· τα δε>
[της φυσ]εως φυν [
[τα ουχ] ομολογη [

[[τα]] τα ουν νομι
[—]
μα παραβαινων
ι λ
ἢ αν αθηι τους
ομολογησαντας
και αισχυνης
και ζημιας α>
πηλλακται· μη
λαθων δ' ου· των
δε τηι φυσει ξυμ
φυτων εαν τε
παρα το δυνατον
βιαζηται· εαν
τε παντας αν
α
θρωπους λ[[η]]θηι·
ουδεν ελαττον
το κακον[·] εαν τε
παντες ιδωσιν
ουδεν μειζον·
ου γαρ δια δόξαν
π
βλατεται· αλλα
δι' αληθειαν· εστι
παν
δε των[[δε]] ενε>
κα τουτων η σκε
ψις· οτι τα πολλα
των κατα νο
μον δικαιων
πολεμιως τη
φυσ[ει] κειται· νε
νο[μο]θ[ε]τηται
γαρ [ε]πι τε τοις ο
φ[θ]αλμ[[ι]]οις α δει

Col. iii.

αυτο[υ]ς οραν· και›
ἃ ου [δε]ι· [[σ]] και επι
τοις ὧσιν α δει αυ
τα ακουειν· και
ἃ ου δει· και επι τηι
γλωττηι α τ[ε]›
δει αυτην λεγειν
και α ου δει· και ε
πι ταις χερσιν
α τε δει αυτας δραν
και α ου δει· και
επι τοις ποσιν ε
φ α τε δει αυτους
ιεναι και εφ α ου
δει· και επι τωι νῶι
ων τε δι αυτον
επιθυμειν και
ω μη [εστι]ν ουν
ου[ ]
ουδε τ[ηι] φυσει
φιλιωτ[ερ]α ουδ οι.
κειοτε[ρα] αφ ων
οι νομο[ι α]ποτρε
πουσι τ[ους] αν[θ]ρωπ[ους]
η εφ α [προτρε
πουσ[ιν] τ[ο γαρ
ζην [ε]στι της φυ
σεως κ[αι τ]ο απο
θαν[ει]ν και το [
μεν [ζ]ην αυτ[οις
εστι[ν α]πο των [

Col. iv.

φεροντων· τα
δε ξυμφεροντα·
τα μεν απο των
νομων κε[ι›
μενα δεσμ[α
της φυσεως ε[στι
τα δ υπο της φυ
σεως ελευθερα· ου [
κουν τα αλγυ›
τε
νουντα ορθωι λ[ο]
ν
γωι ονίνησι τη[ν]
φυσιν μαλλον
η τα ευφραινον
τα· ούκουν ἄν ου
δε ξυμφερον
τ' ειη τα λυπου[ντα]
μαλλον η τ[α η
δοντ[α] τα γαρ τω[ι [
[—]
αληθει ξυμφε
ρ[ο]ντα ου βλα [
π[τ]ειν δει· αλλ ω
φ[ε]λειν· τα τοινυν
τηι φυσει ξυμ [
φεροντα τ[ο]υτ[.
2 lines lost.
[. . . . .]ο̣τ̣ι̣α̣[. .
[. . . . .]απ[. . .
[. . . . .] ἀνα̣[. .
[. . . . .] και οι . [.
[. . . .]ν̣ται· κα[ι

ξυμ[φερο]ντω[ν
το δε α[ποθανειν
απο τ[ων μη ξυμ

[οιτινε]ς αν πα [

Col. v. Plate V.

[θον]τες αμυνων
[ται κ]αι μη αυτοι
[αρχ]ωσι του δραν·
[και ο]ιτινε[ς] αν
[τους] γειναμε
[νου]ς και κακους
οντας εις αυτους
ν
ευ ποιωσι· και οι
κατομνυσθαι
διδοντες ετε›
ροις· αυτοι δε μη
κατομνυμε
[νοι] και τουτων
των ειρημενων
πολλ αν τις ευ
ροι πολεμια τηι
υ
φυσει· ένι τε αν
λ
τοις [[δ]] αγυνεσθαι
τε μαλλον εξον
ηττω·[[ι]] και ελατ
τω· ηδεσθαι· εξον
πλειω και κακως
πασχειν· εξον
μη πασχειν;
ει μεν ουν τις
[τ]οις τοιαυτα προ
[ι]εμενοις επικου
[ρ]ησις εγιγνε

Col. vi. Plate V.

ουκ αν[ωφελες αν
[[ν]]ην τ[οις νο
μοις πει[θεσθαι νυν
δε φαινε[ται τοις
προσϊεμ[ενοις
τα τοιαυτα το ε[κ
νομου δικαι[ον
ουχ' ικανον επι
κουρειν· ο γε πρω
τον μεν επιτρε
πει τωι πασχον
τι παθειν και τωι
δρωντι δρασαι·
και ουτε ενταυ
θα διεκωλυε τον
πασχοντα μη
παθειν· ουδε τον
δρωντα δρασαι·
εις τε την τιμω
ριαν αναφερο›
μενον ουδεν
ϊδιωτερον επι
[τ]ωι [π]επονθοτι
δ̄ η τωι δεδρακο
[τι] περαι γαρ α[.
α[.]το . [. .]υστ . [.
ρ[. . . . .]ας ως ε
παθεν [. .] δυνα
σθαι· απ[. . .]ει δι·

[το] παρα των νο
[μ]ων· τοις δε μη
[π]ροϊεμενοις αλ
[λ ε]ν[[.]]αντιουμε
[ν]οις ελαττωσις·

κην [. . .]ν· τὰν
τα δε κ̣[α]ταλει
πετα[ι] και τωι δρα
σαντ[ι α]ρνεισθαι

Col. vii. Plate V.

4 lines lost.

[. . . .] . . [ε
σ̣τ̣ι̣ν μ̣α̣λ̣[
οσηπερ τ[ωι . . κα
τηιγορου[ντι η της
κατηγορ[ιας . . .
πειθω α . [. . . . .
τωι τ̣ε π̣ε̣[πονθο
τι και τω̣[ι δεδρα
κοτι γι̣γ̣[νεται
γαρ ν[
μασι κ[
και κ̣[
δυν[α
δεσα[
ουδ[

μα[. . . . . εν
τευθ̣[εν
ως ε . [
τωι̣ [
εδ[
α[
τ[
θ[
[—]
[[α[
[[ν̣[·
[[α̣σ̣[
η̣[
ν[
τ̣ο̣[
[[ν̣]][

Fr. 2.

Col. i.

]τ̣ου
] .
]ο
]λ
ανθ]ρ̣ω̣π̣οις
]μ̣ατα›
]η της
]ηλου· ε̣
]ωσ̣ε̣νε

Col. ii.

ρων επ̣[αιδουμε
θα τε κ[αι σεβομεθα
τους δε [εκ φαυ
λοῦ οικ[ου οντας
ουτε επ[αιδουμε
θα. ουτε σεβομ[εθα
εν τ[ο]υτω[ι γαρ
προς αλλη[λους
βεβαρβαρω[με

τε]κμαιρε
] παρεχει
] . [.]τας
]ειστων
]ρων]]
]τα ε
]α̣ν >
]κ̣[. .]
]
]
]
]
]
]
]
]
]
]
]
]
]νο̣
]ν
]υς]] ου ο̣[. .
κ
. [
] εγ̣[
. . . . .

θα· επει φυσει [>
παντα παντ[ες
ομοιως πεφυκ[α
μεν και βαρβα [
ροι και Ελλην[ες
ειναι· σκοπειν [
δ̅[ε̅] παρεχει τα >
τω̣ν φυσει [οντων
αναγκαι[ων
πασιν αν[θρω
ποις· π̣[. . . . . .
τα̣[
τε κατ[α . . . . .
δυνα[. . . . . .
και εκ̣[. . . . . .
τοις. ουτε β[αρβα
ρος αφωρι[σται
[[δ]] ημων ο̣[υδεις
ουτε Ελλην[·] α [
ναπνεομεν
τε γαρ εις τον α
ερ[α] απαντες >
κατα το στομ[α]
[κ]αι κατ[α] τας ρι
νας· κ[αι . . . .
[. .]ν χ[
. . . . .

Fr. 3.

. . . .
] . . [
]νίεις· αλ̣[
]χοι[.]ανο[
] . [. . .]σαλ̣[

Fr. 4.

. . .
]ο̣ . [
] . . [
]υ[
]πο[

Fr. 5.

. . .
]νο[
]η[
] . . ν̣[
]νομ[

5 λο]γου· ν[5]υ· . [5]νοσ[
]ενε[ ]ακα . . .
]αυτ[ ] προς
. . . .]
. . .

Fr. 6. Fr. 7. Fr. 8. Fr. 9.

. . . . . .
]ιαπ[ ]αιτ[ ] . αλ[ ]ισ[
]ουσα[ ] . μ[ ]τοτ[ ]ν[
] . οτ[ ] . [ ]ιθ[ ] . ον[
]το . [. . . . . .
. . .

Fr. 10. Fr. 11. Fr. 12. Fr. 13.

. . . . . .
] . [ ]α . [ ]ητ[ ]υ[
]μη[ ]οια[ ]π[
]ουσ[. . . .
. .

6–189. '. . . justice consists in not transgressing any of the ordinances of the state of which one is a citizen. A man would therefore exercise justice with most advantage to himself if in the presence of witnesses he held in esteem the laws, but in the absence of witnesses, the precepts of nature. For the precepts of the laws are adventitious, whereas those of nature are necessary, and the precepts of the laws are the product of agreement, not of growth, while those of nature are the product of growth, not of agreement. Thus in transgressing legal ordinances, whenever he is unobserved by the parties to the agreement, he is free both from shame and punishment, but not if he is observed. On the other hand, if he strain any of the innate principles of nature more than it can bear, the evil is no less, if he is unobserved by every one, nor any greater, if every one sees. For the injury does not depend on opinion but on fact. All this is the object of our inquiry; because most of what is just according to law stands in opposition to nature. The law has laid down for the eyes what they ought to see and what they ought not, for the ears what they ought to hear and what they ought not, for the tongue what it ought to say and what it ought not, for the hands what they ought to do and what they ought not, for the feet whither they ought to go and whither they ought not, and for the mind what it ought to desire and what not. Now the things from which the laws deter men are not at all more agreeable or akin to nature than those to which the laws encourage them. Life and death are both natural; and their life results from things that are beneficial, death from those that are not beneficial. And with regard to things beneficial, those that are ordained by the laws are restraints on nature,

while those that are ordained by nature are free. What causes gladness then on a right view is of advantage to nature rather than what causes grief; and so what is pleasurable would be beneficial rather than what is painful. For the truly beneficial ought not to be injurious but advantageous. What is beneficial, therefore, to nature . . . those who . . . and who repel attack but do not themselves begin the aggression, and who are kind to their parents even when these behave badly to them, and who permit others to affirm on oath but do not do so themselves. Much of what has been mentioned would be found to be in opposition to nature; there is involved in it greater pain when less is possible, or less pleasure when more is possible, or injury when injury might be avoided. Now if those who adopted such courses as these had any protection from the laws, whereas those who did not adopt them but opposed them incurred loss, obedience to the laws would not be without advantage; but as it is, legal justice is found inadequate to protect those who adopt them. First of all it allows the injury of the injured and the aggression of the aggressor, and besides not originally preventing the injured from being injured, nor the aggressor from making aggression, on being held over until punishment is inflicted, it is no more favourable to the injured than to the aggressor.'

6–11. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* iv. 4. 12–13, where Socrates argues with Hippias of Elis that *ὁ μὲν νόμιμος δίκαιός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ ἄνομος ἄδικος.*

7. Apparently *τα* has dropped out after [*πα*]*ντα*.

18–20 = Antiphon, Fr. 44 Diels, from Harpocration, s. v. *ἄγει*, *Ἀντιφῶν δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀληθείας φησί Τοὺς νόμους μεγάλους ἄγοι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡγοῖτο.*

20–2. *μονουμενος . . . φυσεως* is an iambic trimeter. Iambic rhythms occur also in ll. 113–15, 181–4, 272–4; cf. Jacoby, *op. cit.* p. 66.

34–6. Small curved brackets have been placed before and after the deleted letters, which have also been crossed through. The deleted paragraphus is only bracketed.

45. *τε*: l. *τι*. The mistake was probably caused by the following *εαν τε*.

49. The deleted *η* has a dot placed above it, and is crossed through with a light diagonal stroke. A similar method has been followed in ll. 66, 68, 149, 151, 166, 291; *δε* in l. 57 has only the overwritten dots; cf. l. 245.

68. Apparently the scribe inadvertently wrote *ουδεις*.

87 sqq. Since the author's contention is that legal justice is contrary to nature (ll. 59 sqq.), he might here be expected to say that what is encouraged by the law is not more in accordance with nature than what is prohibited, instead of vice versa. But apparently he is here regarding law as predominantly negative, and is thus concerned to show that prohibitions and restraints involve pain, and so are more akin to death than life.

89. The syllables *θρωπους* seem to have been originally omitted.

102–6. *απο . . . υπο*: the variation of prepositions appears to correspond to no real distinction of sense, and *απο* may be regarded as a clerical error.

108. l. *αλγυνοντα*: the final *α* was converted from *ο*.

109. *τ* of *τε* is clear, but *γε* is required.

116. *τ*[*α η*]*δοντα*: cf. Ps.-Plat. *Ax.* 366 a *τὰ μὲν ἡδοντα ἀμυχιαῖα*, and Pollux iii. 98 *τὸ γὰρ ἥδω Ἰονικὸν καὶ τὸ ἧσε σπάνιον μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν, Ἀνακρέων δ' αὐτὸ εἴρηκεν* (Fr. 148). Some instances of the active occur in later writers.

126–30. The length of the lacunae at the beginnings and ends of the lines are calculated from l. 131, where the supplement is practically assured by l. 135. There will be two lines entirely lost above l. 126, if l. 131 was on a level with l. 99. In l. 128 the rough breathing is probable, but might possibly be an interlinear *ε*. In l. 129 the letter after *οι* may be *γ*, *η*, *μ*, *ν*, *π*, but not *τ*.

131–4. The antithesis of δρᾶν and πάσχειν, which is repeated in Cols. vi–vii, occurs in Antiphon, Fr. 58. ρ of δραν was apparently inserted after the α was written, perhaps by the second hand.

148. τε: γε seems to have been originally written and subsequently altered, mistakenly. If the interlinear ν is rightly read, the insertor wished to read τ εν instead of τε. The first stroke of the ν is not clear, and the remainder of it is so much curved as to suggest a mark of short quantity above α of αυ (cf. l. 113), but this would be unintelligible.

157. προ[ι]εμενοις: l. προσ[ι]εμενοις; cf. l. 169. The same mistake occurs in l. 162.

165–6. The deletion of the ν at the beginning of l. 166 (cf. l. 231) is doubtless due to the corrector, who objected to the original division of the letters. Probably the word in question was αν, which is sometimes divided α|ν; cf. Crönert, *Mem. Herc.* p. 13. That the final ν of an adjective should have been carried over into the next line is much less likely. γ, μ, π or perhaps ι would be possible in place of ν[in l. 165. τ[ο τοις might be read in l. 166.

167. νυν makes the supplement a little long, but this is preferable to the supposition of a lost line containing e. g. the words τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.

188. The marginal δ is a stichometrical figure standing for 400. Stichometry, which is frequent in papyri of poetical works, is seldom met with in prose; cf. e. g. P. Grenf. ii. 11. ii. 4 and 852. Fr. 25, note.

189–94. This passage ought to be restored. In l. 189 περαι, if rightly read, may be an illustration of Antiphon's tendency to poetic words; but perhaps the adverb is meant, as the scribe sometimes wrote iota adscript wrongly, e. g. ll. 151, 205. The ρ, however, is not altogether satisfactory, since a trace of the tail, if of average length, would be expected to be visible. The vestige of the top of the letter is consistent with τ, but there would barely be room for ε]πεται in the lacuna. The α at the end of the line may be δ. In l. 190 the doubtful ο may be ε; [το]υς τι[μω]ρ[ουντ]ας suggests itself, but partial supplements are useless. In l. 193 απ[and αγ[are equally possible. The letter before δι looks at first sight like γ, but this is probably due to a discoloured crack in the papyrus; ἐγδίκη does not occur. δι› might be read as αλ, but αλκην is less likely in this context.

203–7. As Murray suggests, the sense seems to be that the severity of τιμωρία will depend on the persuasiveness of the accuser; but the connexion with the next three lines is not clear.

211. ν has apparently been converted from π.

219. A small smudge below ω is probably not a paragraphus.

225–7. These lines have been bracketed and crossed through in the same way as ll. 34–6.

231. The lower part of a diagonal stroke is visible below this ν (or μ), which was probably crossed out and transferred to the end of the previous line, as at l. 166.

245. Dots are placed above the letters to be cancelled, as in l. 57; that over ρ is uncertain.

264. A horizontal stroke stands above]υς, to the right of which there is a curved mark like those used elsewhere in this papyrus for purposes of deletion; for interlinear strokes instead of dots cf. e. g. 843. The marginal note no doubt refers to the alteration in the text. οὐκ was perhaps intended, though the suspension of the κ would be unusual.

266–98. 'We revere and venerate [the great], but the lowly-born we do not revere or venerate; for in this our conduct to each other is barbarized, since we are all by nature alike fully adapted to be either barbarians or Hellenes. We may see this from the needs which all men naturally have; in . . . no one is marked off as barbarian or Hellene. We all breathe the air with mouth and nostrils . . .'

266. Perhaps πο]ρων.

279. A short diagonal apex often attached by the scribe to the top of a vertical stroke appears in κ of και in an exaggerated form.

285. π[: or γ[.

286. κατα was perhaps originally written by a lipography for κατα τα.

299. This was probably the last line of the column, which is already longer than Cols. i–vi of Fr. 1.

Fr. 3. The rather dirty condition of this fragment and the next would suit a position in the first column of Fr. 2.

2. The remains suggest a rough breathing rather than a diaeresis on ι; a breathing is of course consistent with a compound, e. g. α]υιεις or συ]υιεις.

5. The broken letter before the lacuna seems to be by the second hand, in which case]γου· probably ended the line.

Fr. 4. 1–2. Possibly what has been taken for vestiges of letters here is the effect of dirt, and l. 3 was the first of a column.

5.]ν· perhaps ended the line; cf. the preceding note.

6. The margin after the final α is slight, but most probably this was the last letter of the line.

Fr. 9. The comparatively small size of the letters indicates that this fragment, if it belongs to **1364**, is from near the ends of lines.

1365. History of Sicyon.

29·4 × 10·8 cm. Third century. Plate VI.

This interesting historical fragment consists of two nearly complete columns of 35 lines, written in a fine upright uncial hand approximating towards the biblical type (cf. **1392**, which was found at the same time). Most of the letters are broad, but ο is small and ε and σ narrow. ω is generally placed rather high in the line of writing. At the end of a line the letters are sometimes small. **847** (Part VI, Plate vi) is a specimen of this style on vellum (fourth century), but is somewhat later than **1365**, which is likely to be nearly contemporary with **1234** (Part X, Plate iv) and P. Grenf. ii. 12 (Plate iii). These two papyri are in similar hands and have third-century cursive scholia, and we should assign **1365** to the earlier half of that century. An accompanying document was dated in the year 287. Paragraphi and two kinds of stops, the high and middle points, are employed, but the distinction between them is not accurately observed. A breathing in l. 15 and accents in ll. 31 and 60 with an interlinear insertion in l. 56 seem to be due to a corrector, but the diaeresis in l. 20 is by the original scribe. The lines are rather short, ranging from 13 to 18 letters and rarely exceeding 15, and the loss of the ends throughout Col. ii is not serious.

The subject of the fragment is the origin and rise of Orthagoras, tyrant of Sicyon during part of the first half of the seventh century B. C., and founder of a dynasty which brought that town into prominence in Greek history and maintained itself in power for about 100 years. Concerning this family, which belonged to the original Ionic inhabitants, not to the Dorian conquerors, very little is known, except with regard to the last ruler, Clisthenes, whose only daughter married Megacles the Alcmaeonid and became the mother of the Athenian reformer Clisthenes, a circumstance which gave Herodotus the opportunity for an excursus on the government of the Sicyonian (v. 67–8), besides the well-known story of the wooing of Agariste (vi. 126–31). Orthagoras with the other predecessors of Clisthenes has been hitherto little more than a name, and concerning even that there were doubts, since Herodotus ignores him, giving the genealogy of Clisthenes (vi. 126) as son of Aristonymus son of Myron son of Andreas. Aristotle, to whom Pollux (ix. 77) attributes a treatise called Σικυωνίων Πολιτεία, briefly discusses the government of the Sicyonian tyrants (*Pol.* p. 1315 b, Bekker) πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐγένετο χρόνον ἡ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἡ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδημαγώγουν, and elsewhere (p. 1316 a) treats Myron as the immediate predecessor of Clisthenes, μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα τυραννίς, ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθένους. Pausanias, however (ii. 8. 1 ; cf. vi. 19. 2), agrees with Herodotus in the order Myron, Aristonymus, Clisthenes, and concerning the first gives the valuable piece of chronological information that he won a chariot-race in the 33rd Olympiad (648 B. C.). Nicolaus Damascenus (Fr. 61), describing Clisthenes' accession, makes Myron, Isodemus, and Clisthenes brothers, assigning to them respectively 7, 1, and 31 years' rule, and speaks of Myron as ἀπὸ Ὀρθαγόρου κατάγων τὸ γένος, implying that he was not his son. Plutarch (*De ser. num. vind.* 7) connects the tyranny of Orthagoras with an oracle, Σικυωνίοις δὲ καὶ διαρρήδην ὁ θεὸς προεῖπε μαστιγονόμων δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὅτι Τελητίαν παῖδα στεφανούμενον ἐν Πυθίοις ἀφαιρούμενοι διέσπασαν. ἀλλὰ Σικυωνίοις μὲν Ὀρθαγόρας γενόμενος τύραννος καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον οἱ περὶ Μύρωνα καὶ Κλεισθένη τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἔπαυσαν. Libanius (*Or. contra Severum*, iii, p. 251, Reiske) calls Orthagoras a μάγειρος, i. e. ' butcher ', while Diodorus (*Exc. Vat.* viii. 24) applies that term to Andreas (cf. Herodotus), and gives another version of Plutarch's story about the oracle. By a curious chance this fragment of Diodorus connects closely with our papyrus, supplying the details which must have been given in the column immediately before Col. i ; ὅτι Σικυωνίοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία ἑκατὸν ἔτη μαστιγονομηθήσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τίς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσων πάλιν

ἀπεκρίθη, ᾧ ἂν καταπλεύσαντες πρώτῳ γεγενημένον υἱὸν ἀκούσωσιν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τοῖς θεωροῖς ἠκολουθηκὼς τῆς θυσίας ἕνεκα μάγειρος, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀνδρέας. μισθοῦ τοῖς ἄρχουσι μαστιγοφορῶν ὑπηρέτει. This being all the evidence that has survived concerning the predecessors of Clisthenes, even the outlines of their history are uncertain. Orthagoras and Andreas were regarded by K. F. Hermann as one and the same person, and most recent historians since Grote have preferred that view to the older one (e. g. Plass, *Die Tyrannis*, i. 137) that Andreas was the son of Orthagoras. It has been suggested (Abbott, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 370) that Orthagoras was only a nickname. Concerning Myron the statements of Herodotus and Pausanias are plainly inconsistent with those of Aristotle and Nicolaus, which are generally regarded as derived from Ephorus, like those of Plutarch and Diodorus, and while Plass (*op. cit.* i. 140–1) wished to reject Nicolaus' evidence about Myron altogether, most historians (e. g. Duncker, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 400, Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* i. 661[4]) insert a second Myron between Aristonymus, who perhaps never reigned, and Clisthenes. The chronology of the latter is fairly secure: he took part in the First Sacred War, won a chariot-race at the Pythian games in 582 B.C. (Pausanias x. 7. 7), and at Olympia probably not later than 568, since his daughter Agariste, who was betrothed to Megacles after the victory, apparently had a daughter of marriageable age about 550 (Hdt. i. 60 and vi. 126). Clisthenes probably died about 565, for Nicolaus (*l. c.*) assigns to him 31 years, and his anti-Dorian institutions continued in force for sixty years after his death (Hdt. v. 68), Sicyon being found in the Spartan league by 495 (Hdt. vi. 92). Hence the 100 years' period mentioned by Aristotle and Diodorus has generally been considered to point to about 665 as the date of the foundation of the tyranny (so Duncker and Busolt), though Plass, who (*op. cit.* i. 138) thought that revolutions might have occurred at intervals, preferred about 700, and Grote (iii. 37) 680–70.

The new fragment, continuing, as has been said, the story of the oracle in Diodorus, settles the question concerning his Andreas at any rate, who proves to be the father of Orthagoras. According to our author the Sicyonians, despising Andreas' low rank (he is called in l. 20 μάγειρος, as in Diodorus, and as Libanius calls Orthagoras), paid no attention to the prophecy that his son would be the future scourge of Sicyon, and Orthagoras was brought up in humble circumstances (ll. 1–22). On reaching military age he became a patrol (περίπολος), and distinguished himself in a war with the neighbouring city of Pellene, being promoted to the post of περιπόλαρχος, in which he won fresh successes and fame (ll. 22–52). After an interval, during which he seems to have become a democratic leader, he was elected polemarch, and carried on a victorious war (ll. 52–68). This resulted in the city taking some step (cf. l. 70,

note) which probably led directly to his seizure of supreme power, but at this point the papyrus breaks off. The story of Orthagoras is thus somewhat similar to that told by Nicolaus (Fr. 58) concerning the rise of Cypselus, who utilized his office of polemarch at Corinth to make himself tyrant, although Aristotle (*Pol.* p. 1310 b) states that Cypselus became tyrant not ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν but ἐκ τῆς δημαγωγίας. In the case of Orthagoras it appears that both causes contributed to his success, and probably the same is true of Cypselus. The distinctly favourable estimate of Orthagoras by our author harmonizes well with the praise awarded to the tyrants of Sicyon by Aristotle (cf. p. 105) and Strabo, p. 382.

The plain and straightforward but somewhat monotonous narrative of the fragment does not suggest an author who possessed very high literary merits. Hiatus is uniformly avoided. The writer is inclined to verbosity, especially in the long sentence in ll. 22 sqq., e. g. καταδραμόντων καὶ συμβα[λόντων, πολὺ πάντ[ων ηὐδο]κίμησε μά[λιστα] τῶν περιπ[όλων, ᾧκειοῦτο κ[αὶ προσ]ήγετο, and displays a fondness for the genitive absolute (ll. 28, 34–6, 52, 61–8) and the repetition of the article with an adjective or other dependent words placed after a substantive (ll. 9, 57, 64, 69). For one expression, παρήλλαξεν ἡλικίαν (l. 24), there seems to be no precise parallel before the Roman period, but the general style of the fragment points to an earlier writer, and in view of the close connexion with Diodorus, Ephorus has the first claim to be considered. The extant quotations of Ephorus' own words are hardly sufficient to form a clear conception of his peculiarities, but he seems to have been rather verbose (cf. Walker, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, pp. 42–3), and Dion's criticism of his style as ὕπτιον καὶ ἀνειμένον would apply to **1365**. The tendency to repeat the article is not traceable in the fragments which are certainly attributed to him, and is much more noticeable in the *Hell. Oxy.* (**842**) and Theopompus than in the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, which has very few instances of it. There are one or two other points of resemblance in diction between **1365** and **842** (cf. notes on ll. 24 and 33), and the hypothesis of a common authorship is attractive on stylistic grounds. Ephorus presumably described the Sicyonian tyrants in Books vii–viii, of which extant fragments refer to the First Messenian War and death of Croesus, while Theopompus is hardly likely to have discussed early Sicyonian history, so that, if **842** and **1365** belong to the same work, the identification would favour Walker's view that Ephorus was the author of **842**. That our fragment comes from the lost treatise of Aristotle on the Constitution of Sicyon is also possible, but on the whole less likely in view of the popularity of Ephorus and the marked agreement with Diodorus. Our author shows an interest in political history, but his reference to the internal politics of Sicyon (ll. 58–61) is rather vague, and he does not happen to mention the Dorian aristocracy who controlled three out of the four tribes. There are several points

of agreement with the language of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* (cf. ll. 21, 24, 26, 28, 40, 46–7, and 51, notes), though some of these consist in common expressions, and the praise bestowed upon Orthagoras in **1365** is quite consistent with the opinion expressed in the *Politics* (cf. p. 105); but the early history of the Sicyonian tyrant is more detailed than the corresponding account of the rise of Pisistratus, and the references to the Sicyonians by name in ll. 29, 43, and 69 rather suggest a work in which the affairs of Sicyon formed an episode than one which was wholly concerned with that city. Aristotle in the *Ἀθ. Πολ.* usually speaks of the Athenians as *ὁ δῆμος* simply or uses the plural without specification. Diodorus is not likely to be author of the fragment, still less Nicolaus or any other writer of the early Roman age, and what historians in the Alexandrian period described Sicyonian affairs is unknown. That **1365** is either a fragment of Ephorus or, at any rate, of a writer who was deriving his information from Ephorus, whether Aristotle or another, remains the most satisfactory hypothesis. We have now to examine the value of his account in connexion with the previously known evidence.

The circumstance that at length both Andreas and Orthagoras are mentioned by the same writer, and the Diodorus fragment is now shown to refer to Orthagoras' father, goes far to undermine the current opinion that there was a widespread confusion of the names of these two persons. Since Andreas was not himself tyrant, his omission by Aristotle and Plutarch is explained, and Libanius' transference of the term *μάγειρος* from him to Orthagoras is perfectly intelligible in the light of ll. 15–22. But the difficulty in Herodotus' genealogy of Clisthenes still remains. If Orthagoras was the son of Andreas, and Myron, the grandfather of Clisthenes, was really the son of Andreas, either Myron was the brother of Orthagoras, which is inconsistent with Aristotle's statement (cf. p. 105) concerning the *παῖδες Ὀρθαγόρου* (the term Orthagoridae is a modern expression), or else there were two persons called Andreas, the father and the son of Orthagoras, and Herodotus was referring to the second. In the case of Myron there is reason to suppose that there were two rulers of that name (cf. p. 106), and since Herodotus' Myron is clearly identical with Pausanias' Myron who won the chariot-race in 648 B. C., to insert a generation between him and Orthagoras would result in pushing back Orthagoras' accession nearly to 700 B. C., a date proposed by Plass on other grounds (cf. p. 106) which are not convincing. Cypselus became tyrant at Corinth in the middle of the seventh century (652 according to Busolt, 655 Grote), and Theagenes at Megara apparently about the same time, so that the Sicyonian tyranny seems to have been the earliest of the three despotisms of the Isthmus; but since Myron was contemporary with Cypselus, it is not at all satisfactory to suppose two generations

of tyrants at Sicyon before him, and if the 100 years' period (cf. p. 105) is at all correct, four generations of rulers are more suitable than five. The introduction of a second Andreas as well as a second Myron is therefore open to objection. On the other hand, the omission of the second Myron involves the rejection of the statements not only of Nicolaus but, what is more serious, of Aristotle, whose allusion (cf. p. 105) to the change from Myron to Clisthenes is quite compatible with Nicolaus' account of the murder of Myron by his brother Isodemus which resulted in the speedy accession of Clisthenes, the third brother. If Herodotus' Andreas, the father of Myron, is to be distinguished from the Andreas of Diodorus and **1365**, we should prefer to abandon the supposed 100 years' period of the Sicyonian despotism. The evidence for it is not free from suspicion, being clearly connected, so far as Diodorus, i. e. Ephorus, goes, with the reputed oracle, while Aristotle's reference to it may well be derived from Ephorus. Plutarch moreover, who mentions the oracle but not the 100 years (cf. p. 105), seems to be guilty of an anachronism, for his story implies that the gymnic contests at the Pythian games had been instituted before Orthagoras' time, whereas they are generally considered to have been added during the Sacred War (i. e. after 590 or 586; cf. Duncker, *op. cit.* ii. 149). Recent historians regard the oracle as a later invention arising from the length of the rule of the Orthagoridae, but the number 100 is likely to have been due to the oracle, and its correctness is not confirmed by any evidence that is clearly independent. Herodotus, however, ought to have mentioned Orthagoras when giving a genealogy of the Sicyonian tyrants, and on the whole it seems more likely that his Andreas was identical with the father of Orthagoras in **1365**, and that he has confused Orthagoras with Myron or with Andreas, than that τοῦ Ὀρθαγορέω has dropped out of the text in vi. 126 before τοῦ Ἀνδρέω. As Walker observes, his genealogy of the kings of Salamis in Cyprus (v. 104) contains a somewhat analogous inaccuracy, there being one generation too many.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
[ο]ν[τ]α δημοτην κ[αι	και συμβα[λοντων εξ αι
φα[υ]λον τον ανθρω	φνιδιου βο[ηθησας
πον· παρημελησε	απεκτειν[εν των πο
του μαντειου· και τας	λεμιων τιν[ας και
5 μεν αλλας θυσιας τας	40 πολυ παντ[ων ηυδο
[ε]π̣ιταχθεισας εκ των	κιμησε μα[λιστα
[Δ]ελφων απεδωκε	των περιπ̣[ολων
τοις θεοις· της δε τυ	ανθ ων οι Σ̣[ικυωνι

ραννιδος της μελ
λουσης εσεσθαι κατε
[φρο]νησεν. ο δε Αν
δρ[ε]ας το γενομενον
αυτω παιδιον ετρε
φεν ονομα θεμενος
Ορθαγοραν ὸς μεχρι
μεν ηλικιας δ[ιετε
[λ]εσε διαιτωμενος
και παιδευομενος
ουτως ωσπερ ην ει
κος υἱον οντα μαγει
[ρου] και του τυχον[τος]
[τω]ν πολιτων· επει
δη δε την των παι
[δω]ν παρηλλαξεν η
λικιαν· γενομενος
των περιπολων των
[φ]ρ[ο]υρουντων την
[χω]ραν· πολεμου συν
[ε]στωτος τοις Σικυω
νιοις προς Πελλη
νεας· ἣν μεν εν α
πασι τοις καιροις ε
ν[ερ]γος και χαριεις·
[κ]αταδραμοντων
[δ]ε των Πελληνε[ω]ν
οι περιπολ[αρχον αυ
τον απεδει[ξαν ευθυς
δε τυχων τ[αυτης
της τιμης ε[νικησε
τους πολεμι[ους ετι
λαμπροτερ[ον ωστε
των πολιτω[ν πολλους
ωικειουτο κ[αι προσ
ηγετο· και χ[ρονου
προελθοντο[ς ειλον
το πολεμαρχ[ον αυ
τον. μαλιστα [μεν δι
α την ανδρι[αν και
την ευτυχια[ν την
κατα πολεμο[ν επει
τα και το πλη[θος των
πολιτων εὖ [προς αυ
τον ειχεν· π[ολε
μησαντος δ[ε κατα
την αρχην α[νδρειως
την τε χωραν [την
οικειαν δια[φυλα
ξαντος· και π[ολλα κα
κα τους πολε[μιους
ποιησαντο[ς ο μεν
δημος ο των [Σικυω
νιων αυθι[ς

'. . . the people of Sicyon, knowing] the man to be one of the common folk and of no account, neglected the oracle, and while rendering to the gods the sacrifices enjoined by Delphi took no heed of the coming tyranny. Andreas brought up the child born to him, giving him the name of Orthagoras, and until he reached maturity he continued to receive the nurture and education natural for the son of a butcher and an ordinary citizen. After passing the age of boyhood, however, he became one of the patrols who guarded the country, and on the outbreak of war between Sicyon and Pellene he was active and agreeable on all occasions. When an incursion was made by the people of Pellene and a fight begun, he brought up reinforcements suddenly and killed several of the enemy

and distinguished himself far above all the patrols. In return for this the Sicyonians appointed him chief of the patrols, and no sooner had he received this honour than he gained a still more brilliant victory over the enemy, thus winning over and attaching to himself many of the citizens. After a while they chose him as polemarch, chiefly on account of his courage and success in war, partly also by reason of the goodwill of the mass of the citizens towards him. During his office he fought bravely and kept close guard over his country, and inflicted much injury upon the enemy; whereupon the people of Sicyon again . . .'

1. [ο]ν[τ]α: something like *γνους* (or *αισθομενος*) *δε ο δημος ο των Σικυωνιων* (cf. l. 69) probably preceded.

11. *Ανδρ[ε]ας*: *ν* is practically certain, and the vestiges of the following letters suit *δρ[ε]ας* very well. Cf. Diod. viii. 24 and introd. pp. 105–6.

16. *δ[ιετελ]εσε*: this verb occurs four times in *Aθ. Πολ.* with a participle.

20. *μαγει[ρου]*: cf. Diod. *l. c.* and p. 105.

21. *του τυχον[τος]*: cf. *Aθ. Πολ.* 27. 4 *μᾶλλον τῶν τυχόντων ἢ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

24. *παρηλλαξεν ηλικιαν*: cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 7, *Cimon* 1, Heliod. x. 23. The verb occurs in **842**. xix. 2 in the same sense, but with *πεδίον*, and twice in *Aθ. Πολ.* with *μικρόν* meaning 'differ'.

26. *περιπολων των [φ]ρ[ο]υρουντων την [χω]ραν*: cf. *Aθ. Πολ.* 42. 4 *περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν.*

28. *πολεμου συν[ε]στωτος*: cf. *Aθ. Πολ.* 24. 3 *συνεστήσαντο τὸν πόλεμον.*

33. *χαριεις*: cf. **842**. i. 9 *ὅσοι γνώ]ριμ[οι κ]αὶ χαρίεντες ἦσαν.*

40. *ηυδο]κιμησε*: cf. *Aθ. Πολ.* 14. 1 *ὁ Πεισίστρατος καὶ σφόδρ' εὐδοκιμηκὼς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεγαρέας πολέμῳ.*

44. *περιπολ[αρχον*: cf. Thuc. viii. 92 *ἐς τοῦ περιπολάρχου ξυνιόντας.* Whether the termination was *-ος* or *-ης* is uncertain, but *πολέμαρχος* (cf. l. 54) is much better attested than *πολεμάρχης.*

46–7. Cf. *Aθ. Πολ.* 12. 5 *εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος, φησί, ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχεν.*

51. *προσ]ηγετο*: cf. *Aθ. Πολ.* 20. 1 *προσηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον.*

66. *π[ολλα κα]κα τους πολε[μιους] ποιησαντο[ς*: cf. **842**. xv. 31 *τοσαῦτα κακὰ ποιήσαντες τοὺς Φωκέας*, xviii. 36 *οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποί[ει τοὺς] ἐνοικοῦντας.*

70. *αυθι[ς*: this must refer to something mentioned not long previously, and *θεωρους* (cf. Diod. *l. c.*) *εις Δελφους επεμψε* or *πολεμαρχον αυτον ειλετο* (cf. l. 53) may have followed. *Σικυωνίων δῆμος* (according to Pausanias vi. 19. 3) occurred in the dedicatory inscription upon the treasury built by Myron at Olympia after his victory in 648 B.C. (cf. p. 105); and that *δημος* here refers to the democratic party as opposed to the aristocrats is unlikely.

1366. Fragment of an Attic Orator.

32·7 × 12 cm. Late third century.

The recto of this papyrus contains a report by a decaprotus concerning payments of corn in A.D. 248–9, which will be published in Part XII. On the verso are the beginnings of lines of the *ὑπόθεσις* and first column of a speech by an Attic orator, preceded by the conclusion of a title]*ογενους*. The script is a large cursive, except the title, which is in uncials, and is probably not more than a generation later than the report. A paragraphus

after the ὑπόθεσις and a diaeresis occur, but no stops. The length of the lines is uncertain, but need not exceed an average of seventeen letters; cf. l. 6. A certain Antisthenes, who is not identifiable with any of the bearers of that name in the *Prosop. Att.*, is mentioned at the outset of the ὑπόθεσις, and from the words φαρμακο[(l. 3), θάνατος (ll. 4 and 18), and συκοφαντ[(ll. 7 and 13) it appears that the orator was defending, rather than prosecuting, some one on a charge of poisoning, but whether Antisthenes was the victim or the accused is not clear. There is no trace in the fragment of a reference to]ogenes, and the title may well belong to a preceding oration, since no Attic orator of such a name is known, and]ογενους in any case probably refers to a speech (either ὑπέρ or κατά being supplied) rather than an author. The extant titles of orations concerning persons called]ogenes are two by Hyperides, κατὰ Ἀθηνογένους, of which the first is partly preserved in a Paris papyrus, four by Lysias, (1) περὶ τοῦ Διογένους κλήρου, (2) πρὸς Διογένην or κατὰ Διογένους (περὶ χωρίου), (3) πρὸς Διογένην ὑπὲρ μισθώσεως οἰκίας, (4) πρὸς Γλαύκωνα περὶ τοῦ Δικαιογένους κλήρου, and one by Isaeus, περὶ τοῦ Δικαιογένους κλήρου, which is preserved entire. If the title in **1366** refers to the following speech, none of those orations is suitable; but if, as is more likely, it is distinct from the speech concerning Antisthenes, it might belong to one of them, preferably one of the two speeches by Hyperides or the second of the four by Lysias. The apparent use of ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (l. 6) rather suggests Demosthenes; other orators, so far as can be judged, show a preference for ὦ ἄνδρες or ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι or ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, and were less commonly read than Demosthenes in the third century in Egypt. But the number of his speeches is given by a grammarian in Schol. Aesch. *De fals. leg.* § 18 as seventy-one, and since besides the sixty-one which are extant there are fragments of about twelve others attributed to him, none of which is suitable, it is very doubtful whether two more could be added.

Col. i.

κατα (?)]ογενους

Col. ii.

Αντισθενο̣[υς
φαρμακο̣[
και εαυτο̣[θα
5 νατου κρ̣[ι
)
Καινον με[ν ω ανδρες Αθη

δικην [αι
τιος θαν̣[ατου
τι πισθ[
20 μενος [
[.]ματω[ν
[.]κω δε[

ναιοι φιλ̣[συκο ϋμιν ο[
φαντ[αλ μελει τ̣[
λο τι κα[νους π[
εγωγ ου[νης τιν̣[
και κατ . [τους μ[ω αν
μενου[δρες γ̣[
και συκο[φαντ καμν[
με ηδη [φιλος̣ [
και γειν[τοι τω̣[
τοι ταυτη̣[ν

2. Αντισθενο[υς : Αντισθενε[ι is possible, but not Αντισθενη[ς.
22. δε[: or δο[.
28. The letter following δρες might be γ, η, μ, or ν, but not Α[θηναιοι.

1367. Heraclides Lembus, *Epitome of Hermippus* Περὶ νομοθετῶν.

Fr. 1 29·5 × 12·4 cm. Late second century.

Papyrus rolls which had become worn through use were not infrequently strengthened with patches gummed on the verso, but such patches, even when inscribed, seldom have any value of their own. An exception is provided by the fragments here published, which were stuck on the back of **1248**, part of a copy of Plato's *Politicus*. One of them (Fr. 2) shows that the work so utilized was the epitome by Heraclides son of Sarapion, commonly called Heraclides Lembus, of the treatises of Hermippus Περὶ νομοθετῶν, Περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, and Περὶ Πυθαγόρου, another (Fr. 1) contains one nearly complete column and part of a second from the end of Book i and the beginning of Book ii of the Περὶ νομοθετῶν. Hermippus, who is called by Athenaeus ὁ Καλλιμάχειος (i. 58 f, v. 213 f) and wrote after the death of Chrysippus (208–205 B. C.: Diog. Laert. vii. 184), was a voluminous biographical author, and the treatises above referred to are well known from citations; cf. *F. H. G.* iii. 36–42. Though divided into several books (the Περὶ νομοθ. had six, the Περὶ τῶν ἑ. σοφ. four, and the Περὶ Πυθ. two) and evidently self-contained, they are supposed to have been constituent parts of a larger whole called Βίοι. The new fact which emerges from the title in Fr. 2 is that these treatises were epitomized by Heraclides Lembus. This circumstance has a not insignificant bearing upon the disputed question concerning the character of Heraclides' compilation of the works of two other eminent

biographers, the Βίοι of Satyrus and the Διαδοχαί of Sotion. Heraclides was one of the authorities of Diogenes Laertius, who cites Ἡρακλ. ἐν τῇ τῶν Σατύρου Βίων ἐπιτομῇ (viii. 40), Ἡρακλ. ἐν τῇ Σατύρου ἐπιτ. (ix. 26), Ἡρακλ. ἐν τῇ ἐπιτ. (following a reference to the Βίοι of Satyrus, viii. 53), Ἡρακλ. ἐν τῇ ἐπιτ. τῶν Σωτίωνος Διαδοχῶν (v. 79), Ἡρακλ. ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτ. (viii. 7, x. 1). The natural inference from such a method of citation is that Heraclides' epitomes of the Βίοι of Satyrus and the Διαδοχαί of Sotion were two independent and self-contained works, and they were so treated e. g. by Müller in *F. H. G.* iii. 169–71. Diels, however (*Doxogr. Gr.* p. 149), following a suggestion of Hecker (*Philologus*, v. 433), has argued that the treatises of Satyrus and Sotion were digested by Heraclides into a single epitome, a theory accepted by Wilamowitz (*Antig. v. Karyst.* pp. 87–9) and Susemihl (*Alex. Litt.* i. 503), but rejected by Unger (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxviii. 494). Diels's objection to the common view, however, that Satyrus and Sotion had to some extent covered the same ground, and that it was useless to epitomize independently the same lives as given by the two authors, is conclusively met by the proof from the papyrus that Heraclides did not shrink from such repetition. Pythagoras was treated by Satyrus and Sotion, and Diogenes in dealing with his life expressly quotes Heraclides' epitome of them both (viii. 7, 40). Yet, as we now learn, Heraclides made an independent epitome of Hermippus Περὶ Πυθαγόρου. If Diogenes on the subject of Pythagoras had also referred to Heraclides ἐν τῇ Ἑρμίππου ἐπιτομῇ, would not Diels and his supporters have said that the same great compilation which comprised Satyrus and Sotion was meant? There would have been just as much or as little basis for this identification as for the other. Some at least of the seven sages, too, figured in the pages of Satyrus and no doubt of Sotion; and Satyrus must have included a number of νομοθέται. Since Heraclides epitomized these parallel treatises of Hermippus as such, it is reasonable to suppose that his procedure was the same in regard to Satyrus and Sotion, especially as that is the obvious deduction from the citations of Diogenes Laertius.

That this new information concerning the epitomizing of Hermippus by Heraclides together with a specimen of his compendium should have now come from Oxyrhynchus is appropriate and natural in view of the fact that Suidas calls him Ὀξυρυγχίτης. This testimony conflicts with that of Demetrius Magnes *ap.* Diog. Laert. v. 94, which describes Heraclides as Καλλατιανὸς (Callatis in Pontus) ἢ Ἀλεξανδρεύς. The discrepancy has been met in various ways. Diels and apparently Wilamowitz (*l. c.*) accept Suidas and regard Demetrius as mistaken. C. Müller, Unger, and Susemihl effect a reconciliation by supposing that Heraclides was a native of Callatis, but lived at Alexandria at the court of Ptolemy Philometor, and also for some time as an official at Oxyrhynchus.

Crönert (*Colotes u. Menedemos*, p. 136) holds that Suidas and Demetrius have confused two persons, (1) Heraclides Lembos of Oxyrhynchus, statesman and historian, and (2) Heraclides son of Sarapion, of Callatis, epitomizer. The discovery of **1367** does not of course prove the correctness of Suidas; but it is a little unfortunate for Crönert's hypothesis that fragments of one of Heraclides' epitomes, instead of the Ἱστορίαι or the Λεμβευτικὸς λόγος, should have come to light at Oxyrhynchus.

The legislators discussed in the fragments are Demonax, Cecrops, Buzyges, Archimachus, and a personage at present unidentified whose fall is described in some detail in Fr. 1. 1–19. This last belonged to the Hellenistic age, as is clear from the reference in l. 6 to 'Ptolemy'. He was accused of peculation, fled to Corinth and was condemned in absence. The association with Egypt might suggest Demetrius of Phalerum, but he is excluded by the fact that Hermippus himself is the main authority for the statement that he died of snake-bite in that country (Diog. Laert. v. 78). It is, however, quite unnecessary to assume that the πόλις mentioned in l. 7 was an Egyptian city. The short account of Demonax (ll. 19–39) is unfortunately much mutilated; Hermippus disagreed with Herodotus, who is cited in l. 36, and later authorities in describing Demonax as king of Mantinea. At this point Book i ended, and with Book ii the writer turned to Athens. In the seven lines which remain concerning Cecrops a citation of Philochorus is noticeable in l. 47. Of Buzyges, the mythical ancestor of the Athenian Buzygae, we only learn that he was referred to in the poems of Lasus (ll. 54–5). By Archimachus (ll. 56 sqq.) the son of Heracles, whose name is usually spelled Archemachus, is probably meant. He was apparently brought into some connexion with a senate of 400 (ll. 65–6), but here again the papyrus is disfigured by lacunae which make the sense difficult to follow.

The text is written in a rather small hand, somewhat similar to that of **843** (Part V, Plate vi) but firmer and more regular. It is probably of much the same date as **1248**, in the mending of which **1367** was used, and may be assigned like that papyrus to the latter part of the second century. The title in Fr. 2 is in larger letters with horizontal dashes between the lines. For punctuation both paragraphi and dots in the high position are employed; some at least of the paragraphi are apparently later additions, and the dots also are likely to have come from a second pen. The few corrections that occur are so slight or so imperfectly preserved that it is impossible to say with security whether they are due to the original scribe or to a diorthotes, and we have therefore as usual given the former the benefit of the doubt.

Fr. 1.

Col. i. Col. ii.

a

[. . . .]α . [. . . σ]υντ[. . . . .
[.]α[. . . .]ιση δι[ο] και τινες
δ[ι]κ[η]ν επηνεγκαν αυ
[τ]ω εκατον και ενενη
κο[ν]τα ταλαντων ως πα
ρα [Πτο]λεμαιου λαβοντος
εις [τη]ν πολιν ταυτην
δ α[πο]φυγοντος αλλην
επη[νε]γκαν ταλαντων
[εκατον] πεντηκοντα >
[κ]α[ι ο μ]εν εις Κορινθον
ωιχε[το] καταδικασθεις
δε επ[ω]λειτο . προς >
την κ[α]ταδικην μετα
των υ[π]αρχοντων ουδε
νος δε [τ]ων πολιτων
ι
ωνουμ[ε]νου ου τε αγροι
διεφθαρησαν και η οι
κ[ι]α συνεπεσεν· Δημω
> —
ναξ ο βασι[λε]υς Μαντι
νεων· λεγε[ται] Κυρηναι
[οις] νομο[θε]τησαι και
[ε]ς Δελφους [π]αραγενο
[μ]εν[ος . .] . δι[δο]ναι τα >
[. . . . . .] . . [. . .]ε . γρα
[. . . . . .]κε[. συ]μμα
[χ . . Μαντιν]εων [βα]σιλευς
[ο Δημω]ναξ φ[. . . .] . . [. . .
[προ]σνιμας Βαρκαιο[ις
[. . . .] . α . . . ιτε . [.] . [. . .
[. . . .]εν Μαντ[ιν . . .

[. .] . α καθ εν α[. . .]κουν
[. . .] . ον εξοντ[. . . .]
[. . .] Λιβυην η[. . .] με
[μ]νηται και του Δ[η]μω
[να]κτος και Ηροδο[το]ς
[ως υ]πο Μαν[τ]ινε[ων]
[δο]θειη Κυ[ρη]να[ιοι]ς εκ
μ[ο]
[θε]οπροπιου νοθ[ετ]ης
] β̄
[Αθ]ηναι[ο]ις Κεκροπα τον
[διφυ]η και γηγενη βα
[σι]λε[υ]οντα πρωτον
[νομο]θετησαι φασι· των
[νομ]ων δ αυτου τους [. . .]
[. . .] . δον ευδοκιμη [ ]
[σαι Φι]λοχορος δε τα τω[ν]
κον[. . . . . .]α[. . . . . .
κα . [.] . ανικητ[. . . . .
Βουζυγης· νομο[θετη
σαι· μεμνηται δ α[υτου
και Λασος ο ποιη[της
Αρχιμαχον δε φ[ασι θεσ
θαι τινας νομου[ς και
[δι]ορθωσαι χρησ[τους δε
[του]ς υπ αυτον τεθ[εν
τας [.] . ν δε παραν[. . .
ηνπ[.] . ν χρωμεν[. . .
]εσιο[.] βα[σ]ιλικ[. . .]νο[.
]ατε . [. . .]ατο . ολ[. .]να[
]ρωτ[. . .] . . ταυτην οτ[.
[. . . .]κην βουλευτα[ς
. . τετρακοσιους· . [.

Fr. 2.

Ηρ]ακλειδου του
Σ]αραπιωνος επ[ι]τομη
των Ερμιππου περι
νομοθετων και
ε[π]τα σοφων και
Π]υθαγορου

Fr. 3.	Fr. 4.	Fr. 5.	Fr. 6.	Fr. 7.
. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .
]ζευ	] . ρ[	]εν[	] . ν[	]κο[
]φη	] . ο[	. .	. .	. .
]θη>	] . ιν[			
]α προς	. .			
. . .				

2 sqq. 'Certain persons therefore brought an action against him for a hundred and ninety talents on the ground that he had received this sum from Ptolemy for the city.

When he was acquitted of this they brought another for a hundred and fifty talents; whereupon he withdrew to Corinth. He was condemned and he and his property were put up for sale to meet the judgement, but as none of the citizens offered to buy them his lands became waste and his house went to ruin.

Demonax king of Mantinea is said to have given laws to the people of Cyrene, and going to Delphi . . . Demonax is also mentioned by Herodotus, who says that he was given as a legislator to the Cyrenaeans by the Mantineans in consequence of an oracle.

Book ii.

At Athens the double-formed earthborn Cecrops when he was king, it is said, was the first lawgiver, and of his laws the . . . were highly esteemed; but according to Philochorus . . . Buzyges (is said) to have given laws; the poet Lasus also mentions him. It is said that Archemachus promulgated some laws and amended others, and that the laws made by him were good . . .

(Title) Epitome by Heraclides son of Sarapion of Hermippus on lawgivers and the seven sages and Pythagoras.'

1. It is not clear whether the superscribed *α* refers to l. 1 or is a displaced fragment.

6. l. *λαβοντι*.

13. There seems to be an error here. *επ[ω]λειτο* is followed by a vertical stroke after which there is a small break in the papyrus, and beyond this a vestige of the *π* is visible before *ρ*. To interpret the vertical stroke as the forepart of the *π* is not at all satisfactory, owing to the height of the stroke and the width of the space beyond it. We prefer to suppose that a superfluous letter, or part of one, was written before *προς*. To read *η ⟨οικια⟩ προς* would involve an alteration of *καταδικασθεις*, and *επ[ω]λει το ⟨ ⟩* is not a very likely alternative.

17. Whether the overwritten *ι* was inserted by the original scribe or a corrector is doubtful; the *ν* has not been deleted.

19 sqq. Cf. Athen. iv. 154 d *Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν α' περὶ νομοθετῶν* (*F. H. G.* iii. 36) *τῶν μονομαχούντων εὑρετὰς ἀποφαίνει Μαντινεῖς Δημώνακτος ἑνὸς τῶν πολιτῶν συμβουλεύσαντος, καὶ ζηλωτὰς τούτων γενέσθαι Κυρηναίους*. Herodotus, who is cited below (l. 36), relates how, on the accession at Cyrene of the lame Battus, that state was bidden by the Dephic oracle to apply to Mantinea for a *καταρτιστήρ*, and the Mantineans accordingly sent Demonax *ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον* who *τριφύλους ἐποίησέ σφεας* and *τῷ βασιλεῖ Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱερωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλέες ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε* (iv. 161); similarly Diodorus viii. 30 *ὅτι τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων στάσεως διαιτητὴς ἐγένετο Δημῶναξ Μαντινεύς, συνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ δοκῶν διαφέρειν*. According to all these passages Demonax was a private citizen, and it is strange that he should here be given the title of king.

23–4. *παραγενομενοι* (sc. *οἱ Κυρηναῖοι*) would be expected from the narrative of Herodotus, but the following infin. indicates that Demonax is still the subject. *δο[υ]ναι* rather than *δι[δο]ναι* is wanted, but is apparently not to be read; the doubtful initial *δ* may be *α*.

26. *]κε[*: or possibly *]ασ[*.

32. Apparently not *δ[ιοι]κουν*. *χ* may be read instead of *κ*.

33. *εξ ων* is also possible.

34 sqq. Cf. note on l. 19. There are dots above *και* in both l. 35 and l. 36, but it is doubtful whether they were intended as marks of deletion, though the first *και* might probably be spared; for the second cf. l. 55. A small fragment containing part of the *δ* and the second *ο* of *Ηροδοτος* and a vestige of *δ* in the line above is not certainly placed here.

39. As in l. 17 the responsibility for the correction remains in doubt.

42. *[διφυ]η*: cf. Suidas s. v., Aristoph. *Wasps* 438, &c.

46. The letters before *ν* are indistinct, and there may have been some alteration; perhaps]. [. .]*ν* should be read. The paragraphus below this line is of unusual length; it should, moreover, have been placed a line lower down.

53. Βουζύγης was the mythical ancestor of the Athenian priestly family of Βουζύγαι and was regarded as the inventor of ploughing and the originator of various moral observances; cf. e. g. Schol. Aesch. ii. 78 Βουζ. . . . 'Αθηναίων τῶν πάλαι, ὅστις πρῶτος ζεῦγος ἔζευξεν, Hesych. Βουζ. ἥρως 'Αττικός, ὁ πρῶτος βοῦς ὑπὸ ἄροτρον ζεύξας, Etym. Magn. 206. 47, Append. Prov. i. 61 ἀραὶ βουζύγειοι· Βουζ. . . . ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀρᾶται καὶ τοῖς μὴ κοινωνοῦσι . . . ὕδατος ἢ πυρὸς ἢ μὴ ὑποφαίνουσιν ὁδον πλανωμένοις, Diphil. Fr. 62 Kock, Schol. Soph. *Ant.* 255 λόγος δὲ ὅτι Βουζ. 'Αθήνησι κατηράσατο τοῖς περιορῶσιν ἄταφον σῶμα.

54–5. This passage must be added to the scanty fragments of Lasus (four in Bergk's *Poet. Lyr.*).

56. 'Αρχίμαχος occurs as an Athenian name in Ps.-Demosth. Πρὸς Μακάρτατον 45, but no lawgiver 'Αρχίμαχος is known. Presumably the reference is to 'Αρχέμαχος, the son of Heracles by one of the daughters of Thespius (Apollod. ii. 7. 8), though apparently he is not elsewhere credited with νομοθεσία.

62–4. The letters εσ, ατε, and ρωτ are on a small fragment which is stuck on in the position given in the text, but is perhaps not in its right place. It is noticeable that the initial letters of ll. 63–4 are rather more to the left of the ε in l. 62 than is warranted by the ordinary slope of the column. The doubtful σ following the ε may be γ or π.

Fr. 3. 1. If]ζεν is right this fragment might well belong to the passage concerning Buzyges; cf. note on l. 53. The ζ, however, is not altogether satisfactory.

Fr. 7. If this fragment belongs to **1367**, it must have come from near the end of a line, on account of the compression of the letters.

1368. ROMANCE.

19·2 × 9·6 cm. Third century.

The recto of this papyrus contains the ends of eleven lines from an official register of persons, drawn up, to judge from the handwriting, towards the close of the second century. A census and ἐπικεφάλαια are mentioned, and the document no doubt had reference to taxation. On the verso is the upper part of a column, with some letters from the ends of lines of the column preceding, from an apparently unknown romance. This is written in a medium-sized irregular hand, employing for the most part uncial forms but with a tendency to cursive; it is not likely to be later than about the middle of the third century. A paragraphus is once written, but no other kind of stop; *ν* at the end of a line sometimes takes the form of a stroke above the preceding vowel. Corrections in ll. 45–6 seem to be due to the original scribe. The fragment relates the adventures of a certain Glaucetes. During a ride he sees a vision of a youth who says that he and a maiden have been murdered and lie buried in a particular spot. Glaucetes then proceeds with his journey and arrives at a village where he prepares to pass the night. The piece is another illustration of the popularity

of such compositions, of which evidence has already come from Oxyrhynchus in fragments both of extant and non-extant authors; cf. **416–17, 1019, 1250.**

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]νη	νιοις την αυτην θαψα̣[ι
]ενδε	μεικρον απο της οδου εκ̣[τρα
]τ̣εν ϋϊ	πεις κειμαι δη ϋπο τη π[λα
]λ̣ιος	τανιστω εκεινη και μ̣ε̣τ̣ ε
]δ̣ι̣ εκει	μου κορη καλη αμφω ανηρη
]ην	μενοι ο δε Γλαυκετης εκ
]την	πλαγεις ωσπερ εικος εφθεγ
] . σι	ξατο μεν ουδεν προς ταυ
]τ̣ους	τ̣α̣ επενευεν δε μονον και
]παι	[αμ]α̣ ηλαυνεν ο δε νεανι
3 lines lost.	[σκος] ηφανισθη επινευσαν
	[τος ο] δε Γλαυκετης κατα κρα
	τος ηλαυνεν και αμα επε
]α̣	στρεφετο ει που αυθις ϊδοι
]α̣	εκεινον αλλ ουκετι εβλεπε̄
]σχυ	αφικνειται ουν νυκτος ετι
]ω̄	ε[ι]ς̣ την κωμην και ην πα
]ν̣ο̣	ρ αυτη πο[[λ̣]]αμος τουτον δι
]α̣	τ τινα
]	αβας ορα [[παρ αυτη]] ιπποστα
]κ̣α	σιν ανεωγμενην και εν
]α̣	αυτη στιβαδα ευτελη και
]	φαυλην καταδησας ουν
]δε	προς τη φατνη τον ιππον
]	βαλων αυτος επι της στιβα
]ν	δ[ο]ς̣ επεχειρει καθευδειν
] .	καν τουτω κατεισι γυνη δι
. . .	α κλειμακος η ην εξ υπερω
	[ου α]γ̣ουσα κατω εις την ιπ
	[ποστασιν . . .
	. . . .

Col. ii. '". . . to bury her, turning aside a little from the path. There I lie beneath that plane-tree and with me a fair maiden, both of us slain." Glaucetes filled with natural astonishment said nothing in reply to this, but merely nodding his head rode on; and when he nodded the young man disappeared. Glaucetes hurried on, turning round at the same time on the chance that he might see him again; but he beheld him no more. While it was yet night he arrived at the village, which was on the bank of a river. Crossing this he saw an open stable with a poor and mean litter inside; so having tied up his horse at the manger he threw himself down on the litter and tried to sleep. Meanwhile a woman descended by a ladder which led down from an upper room to the stable . . .'

28. The letter before the lacuna is probably *α* or *ε*. *θαψε[ιν* would fill the line better than *θαψα[ι*, which is rather short.

46. The deleted letters, which are a dittography from ll. 44–5, have dots placed above and below them.

51. *βαλων*: cf. Arrian, *Epict.* ii. 20. 10 *βαλὼν καθεῦδε*. This intransitive use of *βάλλειν* (cf. *ῥίπτειν*) is also found in poetry, and in the colloquial *βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας*, &c.

III. FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

1369. SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

Fr. 7 4·4 × 8·1 cm. Fifth century. Plate VII (Frs. 1–2 recto).

These seven small pieces of three leaves from a papyrus book containing the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and no doubt other plays of Sophocles were part of a find of Byzantine literary fragments, which comprised **1369–74** and **1385**, **1391**, **1394**, **1396–7** and **1401–3**, besides a few very small unpublished fragments. Parts of fifty-six lines from the middle and later portions of the drama are preserved, nearly half being lyric, but too incomplete to be of much value. The script is a somewhat irregular sloping uncial of the oval type and probably belongs to the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth, being thus little later than **22**, the only other extant papyrus fragment of this play. There were about forty-three lines on a page. A few corrections have been inserted in a different but probably nearly contemporary hand (ll. 780, 822, 1310) together with a breathing in l. 827 and the speaker's name in the margin of l. 689. The other occasional corrections and breathings, with the stops (high and low points), paragraphi, accents, diaereses, and marks of elision and quantity, seem all to be due to the first hand. Iota adscript is generally omitted. The scribe was rather careless, l. 778 being

omitted owing to homoioteleuton, and where the Laurentian codex (L) breaks down, as happens not infrequently in the choric passages, the papyrus (Π) rarely helps, so that the only novelties are ἐμβατεῦσαι for ἐμβατεύειν in l. 825, a doubtful variant in l. 752, and an uncertain confirmation of an emendation in the corrupt line 1310. It is interesting, however, that in at least three instances (ll. 827, 1306, 1307) and probably a fourth (l. 1355) the text agrees with the later MSS. against L, thus providing a fresh argument on the side of those who do not regard L as the ultimate source of the other MSS. of Sophocles.

Frs. 1–4. Verso.

. . . . . .

688 [τουμον παριεις και καταμβλ]ύνων κεαρ [
χορ(ος) [ωναξ ειπον μεν ο]υ
690 χ' α̣[παξ μονον ισθι δ]ε̣
⟦—⟧
παραφ[ρονιμον απορο]ν̣
επι φρον[ιμα] π̣ε̣φ̣α̣ν̣[θαι
μ̣' α̣ν̣ [ει σε] νοσφιζομ[αι
[ος τ εμαν γα]ν̣ φίλαν
695 [εν πονοις αλυο]ν̣
[σαν κατ ορθον] ούρισας
[τανυν τ ευπο]μ̣π̣ο̣ς ει δύναι̣ γ̣[ενου
10 lines lost.
708 [εμου πακουσον και] μ̣α̣θ̣ ο̣υ̣ν̣[εκ εστι σοι
[βροτειον ουδεν μα]ντικῆς [εχον τεχνης
710 [φανω δε σοι σημεια τ]ῶ̣ν̣δ̣ε̣ σ̣[υντομα
. . . . . .

Recto. Plate VII (Frs. 1–2).

. . . . . .

731 [ηυδ]ατο γαρ ταυτ' ο[υδε πω ληξαντ εχει
[και π]ου σθ' ο χωρος [ουτος ου τοδ ην παθος
[Φωκις] μεν η γη κλ[ηζεται σχιστη δ οδος
[ες ταυτο] Δελφῶν [καπο Δαυλιας αγει
735 [και τις χρ]ονος τ[οισδ εστιν ουξ]εληλυθώς·
[σχεδον τι προσθε]ν η συ τησδ̣ ε̣[χων χθονος

[αρχην εφα]ινου τουτ' εκηρυχ[θη πολει
[ω Ζευ τι μου] δρασαι βεβο[υλευσαι περι
[τι δ εστι σοι τ]ουτ' Οιδίπους ε[νθυμιον
740 [μηπω μ ερ]ωτα τον δε Λα[ιον φυσιν

10 lines lost.

751 [ανδρας λοχιτας οι α]νηρ αρ[χηγετης
[πεντ ησαν οι ξυμπ]άντες· ε[ν δ αυτοισιν ην
[κηρυξ απηνη δ ηγε] Λάϊον μ[ια
. . . . . .

Frs. 5 and 6. Recto.

. . . . . .
775 [μητη]ρ δε Μερ[οπη Δωρις ηγομην δ ανηρ
[αστ]ων μέγισ[τος των εκει πρι]ν μοι τυχη [
777 [τοια]δ' επεστη θ[αυμασαι μεν] αξία[[ι]]·
779 [ανηρ] γαρ εν δείπν[οις μ υπερπλ]ησθεὶς με[θη
780 [καλει πα]ρ' οινω· πλα[στος ωσέ]ιγήν πα[τρι
[καγω βαρυνθεις την μ]εν ουσαν ημ[εραν
[μολις κατεσχον θατε]ραι δ' ἰὼν πέλα[ς
[μητρος πατρος τ ηλεγ]χον· οἱ δε δυσ[φορως
[τουνειδος ηγον τω με]θέντι τον λ[ογον
. . . . . .

Verso.

. . . . . .
819 [ωθειν δ απ οικων και ταδ ουτις αλ]λος ην
820 [η γω π εμ]αυτω τασδ [αρας ο προστι]θεις.
[λεχη δε] του θανο[ντος εν χεροιν] εμαῖν.
[χραιν]ω δι [[η]]νπερ [ωλετ αρ εφ]υν κακός.
[αρ ουχ]ι πας [[αν]] άν[αγνος] ει με χρη φ[υγειν
[και μοι] φευγον[ι] μ[η]τε [τους εμ]ους [ιδ]ε[ιν
825 [μηστ εμ]βατευσαι πατρ[ιδος η γαμοις με δει
[μητρος ζ]υγῆναι και [πατερα κατακτανειν
[Πολυβον] ὃς εξεθρεψ[ε καξεφυσε με
. . . . . .

Fr. 7. Verso.

. . . . . .

1304 [δ]υναμαι σ ε[θελων πολλ ανερεσθαι
1305 πολλα πυθε[σθαι πολλα δ αθρησαι
τοιαν φρίκη[ν παρεχεις μοι
αιαι αιαι
φευ φευ δύ[στανος εγω ποι γας
[φ]εροματι τλ[αμων πα μοι φθογγα
1310 [δι]απ[[[ε]]]τατ[αι φοραδην

. . . . . .

Recto.

. . . . . .

1351 [ποδιας ελαβεν μ απο τε] φ[ονο]υ
[ερρυτο κανεσωσεν ο]υθεν ες χάριν
[πρασσων τοτε]
[γαρ αν θανων]
1355 [ουκ ην φιλοισιν ουδ ε]μοι τοσονδ' άχ[ς
[θελοντι καμοι τουτ α]ν ην
[ουκουν πατρος]
[γ αν φονευς ηλθον ου]δε ν[υμ]φι[ος

. . . . . .

688. *καταμβλ]ύνων*: so MSS., Jebb. Hartung and Wecklein proposed *καταμβλύνεις*.

689. *χορ(ος)*, or possibly *χορ[ο(ς)]*, is written as an ordinary abbreviation with a stroke through the *ρ*, not as in **1370**. 1249 with *ο* above and *ρ* under the *χ*. Lines 689–97 are divided somewhat differently in L, which begins l. 690 with *-παξ* and l. 696 with *κατ' ὀρθόν*.

693. *σε]νοσφιζομ[αι*: so MSS. Jebb adopts Hermann's *σ' ἐνοσφιζόμαν*.

695–6. Eleven letters would be expected in the lacuna in l. 695 and 10 in l. 696; the restoration of the reading of the MSS. gives 12 and 11, but with several narrow letters. *πόνοις* in l. 695 was corrected by Bergk to *πόνοισιν* in order to correspond to *φθίνουσα* in l. 666 of the strophe, where Dindorf conjectured *φθινάς*, but the arrangement [*εν πονοισιν αλ*]υ[*ουσαν κατ ορθον*] requires 13 letters before *ούρισας* in l. 696, which is unlikely. In ll. 666–7 the reading of the MSS. *τρύχει ψυχάν, καὶ τάδ' εἰ κακοῖς κακά* again fails to correspond to *ἀλύουσαν κατ' ὀρθὸν οὔρισας* in the antistrophe, and *καί* is generally omitted with Hermann. The papyrus supports the view that the error lies in the strophe, not in l. 696.

697. *δυναι γ[ενου* or *δυναιο [γενου?* can be read; the first hand of L had the former reading, the first corrector (with the other MSS.) the latter, something (two accents?) being

erased above *αι*. Neither reading corresponds to l. 668 *τὰ πρὸς σφῷν*. Hermann and Campbell read *δύναιο*, omitting *γενοῦ*, which word (or *ἴσθι*) would have to be understood.

740. *ερ]ωτα τον*: or possibly *ερ]ωτᾱ [τ]ον*; cf. l. 777.

752. *ξυμπ]άντες* was wrongly accentuated, unless a new variant, e. g. *οὗτοι π]άντες*, be read for *οι ξυμπ]άντες*: cf. l. 780, note.

777. The deletion of the wrong *ι* after *αξια* and the insertion of the mark of quantity seem to be due to the first hand. After this verse l. 778 *σπουδῆς γε μέντοι τῆς ἐμῆς οὐκ ἀξία* has been omitted owing to homoioteleuton.

780. There are traces of ink between the two accents on *ἑ]ι* and *ἡν* which apparently represent *γ*, i. e. *γ(ε)*, or a smooth breathing. The scribe clearly either did not read *πλαστὸς ὡς εἶην πατρί*, which is indeed rather unexpected after *καλεῖ μ'*, or else misunderstood it. The accent of *ἡν* must be wrong; cf. l. 752, note.

782. *δ'* was corrected from *ι* by the first hand. The supposed grave accent on *ἴων* resembles a mark of elision.

821. The *ν* of *εμαῖν* is written very large.

822. The reading of the first hand *ηνπερ* was a mere error.

823. *ἀν[αγνος]*: there is room for two more letters in the lacuna, which is hardly smaller than the space occupied by *ωλετ αρ εφ* in l. 822, and there may well have been another deletion. The first was apparently due to the original scribe.

824. *φευγοντ[ι]*: l. *φυγοντ[ι]* with A (the Parisinus). L originally had *φυ . τόντι*, which was converted into *φυγόντι* by the erasure of half the cross-bar of the *τ* as well as all the preceding letter.

μ[η]τε: so A; *μῆστι* originally L, corrected by an early hand to *μήτε*. *μ[η]στ[ι* does not suit the traces here, and *μ[ησ]τι [* cannot be read.

825. *[μηστ εμ]βατευσαι*: *μήτ' ἐμβατεύειν* LA, *μήτ'* having been corrected in L by an early hand from *μῆστ* or *μή μ'*; *μήτ'* or *μή 'στ' ἐμ.* other MSS., *μηδ' ἐμβατεύειν* Dindorf, Jebb. The aorist fits in better than the present with *φυγεῖν* and *ἰδεῖν* in the preceding lines, but whether the papyrus had *μηστ'* (cf. l. 824), *μητ'*, or *μηδ'* is uncertain. Seven letters would be expected in the lacuna on the analogy of ll. 823–6, six according to l. 827, so that *[μητ' εμ]* or *[μηδ' εμ]* is rather short.

826. There was possibly a low stop after *ζ]υγῆναι*.

827. *εξεθρεψ[ε καξεφυσε*: so M (Ambrosianus) and the late MSS.; *ἐξέφυσε κἀξέθρεψέ* LA, Jebb; but cf. *Od.* xii. 134 *θρέψασα τεκοῦσά τε*, and introd.

1304. *δ]υναμαι σ ε[θελων*: the reading is very doubtful, but the first letter visible seems to be *ι* or *υ*, the next to be *ν* rather than *δ*, and four feet are found in ll. 1305, 1306, 1308, and 1309. The arrangement of ll. 1304–10 is the same as that in L.

1306. *τοιαν*: so edd. with L marg. and some of the late MSS.; *ποίαν* L, *τοίαν* with *π* suprascr. A, &c.

1307. *αιαι αιαι*: so some of the late MSS.; *αἰ αἰ αἰ* LA, *αἰ αἰ* other late MSS., Jebb; cf. l. 827, note.

1308. The accent on *δύ[στανος* is not certain.

1310. The reading *[δι]απωτατ[αι* corr. from *δι]απ[ε]τατ[αι* is unfortunately very uncertain. LA have *διαπέταται φοράδην* |, the only variants for *διαπ.* in the later MSS. being the corrupt *διέπταται* and *διαπέπταται*. The letter above the line is not *α* or *ε*, but might be *ο*. *διαπωτᾶται*, an epic form used also by Pindar, is adopted by Jebb from Musgrave and Seidler to preserve the anapaestic metre.

1351. LA also have *φόνου* at the end of this line, but *ἐπιποδίας* at the end of the line preceding. That the scribe of Π had no hesitation in dividing words between two lines is clear from ll. 689 and 695. The restorations in ll. 1351–2 are from L, but the text and metre of these lines are doubtful.

1355. ἀχο[ς: so A and edd.; ἀχθ[ος, the unmetrical reading of L, &c., is possible, but in view of the other disagreements with L less probable.

1357. οὔκουν πατρός . . . νυμφίος forms one line in L.

1370. EURIPIDES, *Medea* and *Orestes*.

Fr. 1 8·1 × 18·1 cm. Fifth century. Plate VII (Frs. 3 recto, 9 verso).

These nine fragments of seven different leaves from a papyrus codex of Euripides were found with **1369** and **1371–4**. One belongs to the *Medea*, the rest to the *Orestes*, but the order of the plays is uncertain. The script is a good-sized uncial of the sloping oval type with thirty-seven or thirty-eight lines to a column, and resembles **1371**. Fr. 1 (*Medea*) contains parts of fourteen iambic lines near the beginning of the drama (ll. 20–6, 57–63). Iota adscript is twice written by the first hand, twice omitted, but inserted by a corrector who used darker ink and to whom are due the breathing in l. 23 and frequent accents, stops (high, middle, and low points) except that at the end of l. 59, and marks of elision; diaereses and paragraphi are by the original scribe. The *Orestes* scraps, in the same hand, contain parts of nearly 100 lines scattered over the play, one-third being lyric (ll. 445–9, 469–74, 482–5, 508–12, 685–90, 723–9, 811–17, 850–4, 896–8, 907–10, 934–6, 945–8, 1247–63, 1297–1305, 1334–45, 1370–1). An insertion of iota adscript in l. 909 and a correction of l. 897 are made in a small uncial hand, which employed brown ink like that of the main text and seems to be different from that of the corrector of Fr. 1, while the accents, breathings, stops (high point), and elision-marks are less frequent than in Fr. 1 and are probably due, like the diaeresis (l. 470) and most of the paragraphi, to the first hand. Corrections in ll. 1334 and 1342 and perhaps 511 are in a different hand, which may be identical with that of the person who inserted the speaker's name against ll. 470 and 1249 in good-sized uncials and paragraphi below ll. 1250, 1257, and 1260, but was apparently not the writer of the text. Two glosses in late fifth or sixth-century cursive, explaining rare words, occur in the margin of ll. 1370 and 1371. The writer of these notes may also have been responsible for the speaker's name against l. 1260, but the speaker's name added in uncials against l. 1246, if not due to the original scribe, was probably inserted by a fourth corrector. The cursive notes are somewhat later than the scholia in **1371**, but the main text probably belongs, like the other literary fragments of this find, to the fifth century rather than to the sixth.

Like the two extant papyri of the *Medea* (ll. 5–12 in P. Didot, ed. H. Weil, *Monuments grecs*, 1879, 18–22, and ll. 710–15 in **450**) the present fragment is too small to be of any practical use for textual purposes; but the pieces of

the *Orestes* are more valuable, being longer than the previously known papyrus fragments of that play (ll. 339–43 with musical notes in P. Rainer, *Mittheil.* v. 365; 1062–90 in J. Nicole, *Rev. de Philol.* xix. 105; 1313–50, 1356–60 in 1178), and in spite of their unsatisfactory condition offer some readings of interest. The *Orestes* is one of the best attested of Euripides' plays, the Marcian (M), Vatican (V), and two Paris codices (A and B) being available as well as the Laurentian (L) and the Laurentian part of the Palatine (P). Of these M, the oldest (twelfth century), is acknowledged to be the best, A and V coming next; P stands nearer to MABV than to L. A noteworthy agreement with M against the other MSS. occurs in l. 946, and with A in l. 1335, and probably in ll. 816 and 1370; on the whole the corrected text is fairly accurate, though a slip in l. 508 has passed unobserved. Weil's emendation ἄγ' for ἀλλ' in l. 1340 is confirmed, which is the more remarkable since 1178, though five centuries older than 1370, agrees with the MSS. A new reading which may be right occurs in l. 508.

1401, which was found with 1370, is also perhaps Euripides, but is written in a different hand and seems to belong to a distinct MS.

Medea.

Fr. 1. Verso.

Μηδεια δ' η δυστηνος ητιμασμένη.
βοαῖ μεν ορκους ανακαλεῖ δ[ε δε]ξιας
πίστιν μεγιστην· και θ[εους μ]αρτυρεται.
δ̣ιας αμοιβῆς [εξ Ιασονος κυρει]
κειται δ αṣι̣[τος σωμ υφεις αλγηδοσι
τον πάντα [συντηκουσα δακρυοις χρονον
επει̣ [π]ῤ̣[ος ανδρος ησθετ ηδικημενη
. . . . . .

Recto.

ωσθ' ἵμερός μ' ὑπῆλθε γῆ̣ι τε κουρανωι
λέξαι μολού[ση]ι δ[ε]υρο Μηδείας τυχας·
ουπω γαρ ή τα[λαινα π]αυεται γόων·
ζηλω σ' εν αρχ[η πημα κο]υδεπω μεσοῖ
ω μῶρ[ος ει χρη δεσποτας ειπειν τοδε
[ως ουδεν οιδε των νεωτερων κα]κων·
[τι δ εστιν ω γεραιε μη φθονει] φ̣ῤ̣α̣σαι·
. . . . . .

25. π of παντα has been corrected.
58. μολού[ση]ι: so ABPV, edd.; μολοῦσαν V (later hand) L.
Μηδείας: so V (with ἢ δεσποίνης suprascr.) LP (cf. Ennius, *Med.* Fr. 3); δεσποίνης AB and Schol. *Phoen.* 1, Wecklein, Murray.

Orestes.

Frs. 2 and 3. Recto. Plate VII (Fr. 3 recto).

. . . . . .

445 [ιδια π]ρος [εχθ]ρ[ων η προς Αργειας χερος
[παν]των προ[ς αστων ως θανω βραχυς λογος
[ω μέ]λεος ἥκει[ς συμφορας ες τουσχατον
[ες σ ε]λπις ἦμ[η καταφυγας εχει κακων
[αλλ αθ]λίως π̣[ρασσουσιν ευτυχης μολων

19 lines lost.

469 [θωμαι γερον]τ̣[ος ομμ]α̣τ̣[ων φευγων κορας
Τυνδ(αρευς) π̄[ου που θυγ]ατρος της εμης ἴ[δω ποσιν
471 Μ[ενελαον] επει γαρ τωι Κλυ[ταιμνηστρας ταφωι
χ[οας] χεομενος· εκλυον ὡς ἐς [Ναυπλιαν
ήκοι συν αλοχωι πολυετης σ̣[εσωσμενος
άγετέ με προς γαρ δεξ[ι]αν α[υτου θελω

Verso.

. . . . . .

482 [τι γαρ φιλου μοι πατρος εστιν εκγ]ο̣ν̣ο̣ς·
[κεινου γαρ οδε πεφυκε τοιουτο]ς γεγως·
[πεφυκεν ει δε δυστυχει τιμ]ητέος·
485 [βεβαρβαρωσαι χρονιος ων εν βαρ]βαροις·
[Ελληνικον τοι τον ομοθεν τιμαν αει]·

21 lines lost.

508 [ει τονδ αποκτει]νιεν σύλλεκτρ[ος γυνη]
[χω τουδε παις αυ μ]ητερ' ανταποκτεν[ει
510 [καπειθ ο κεινου] γενομενος φονω φονο̣ν̣ [
ποι
[λυσει περας δε κα]κων [[π̣ο̣ι]] προβήσεται·
[καλως εθεντο ταυ]τα πατέρες οἳ παλαι·

Frs. 4 and 5. Verso.

. . . . . .

685 [συνεκκομιζειν δυναμιν η]ν δι[δω θεος
[θρησκοντα και κτεινοντα τ]ους [ενα]ντι[ους
[το δ αυ δυνασθαι προς θεων] χ̣ρ[ηζ]ω̣ τυχ[ειν
[ηκω γαρ ανδρων συμμαχων κεν]ὸν δο[ρυ
[εχων πονοισι μυριοις αλωμενος]
690 [σμικρα συν αλκη των λελειμμεν]ων φ[ιλων

. . . . . .

Recto.

. . . . . .

723 [οποι τραπομενος] θ̣α̣ν[ατον Αργειων φυγω
[ουτος γα]ρ̣ [ην μοι κ]α̣τ̣α̣φ[υγη σωτηριας
725 [αλλ εισο]ρω [γαρ] τον[δε φιλτατον βροτων
[Πυλα]δην δ[ρομω στειχοντα Φωκεων απο
[ηδε]ι[α]ν ὁψι[ν πιστος εν κακοις ανηρ
[κρεισ]σων γα[ληνης ναυτιλοισιν εισοραν
[θασσον] η̣ [με χρην προβαινων ικομην δι αστεως

. . . . . .

Fr. 6. Verso.

. . . . . .

811 [παλ]α̣ι̣ π̣αλ̣[αιας απο συμφορας δομων
[οπο]τε χρυ[σεας ερις αρνος
[ηλυ]θε Ταν[ταλιδαις
[οικ]τ̣ρότατα̣ [θοιναματα
815 [και σ]φάγια γ̣[ενναιων τεκεων
[φον]ω̣ι φόν[ος εξαμει
[βων δι] α̣[ιματος ου προλει

. . . . . .

Recto.

. . . . . .

[Πυλαδης εοικε δ ου μακραν οδ αγγελος]
[λεξειν τα κειθεν σου κασιγνητου πε]ρι·
[ω τλημον ω δυστηνε του στρατη]λατου
[Αγαμεμνονος παι ποτνι Ηλεκ]τρα λόγο[υς
[ακουσον ους σοι δυστυχεις η]κ̣ω φ̣[ερων

. . . . . .

Frs. 7 and 8. Recto.

. . . . . .

[πηδωσ αει κηρυκες οδε δ αυτοις] φίλο[ς
]α̣ισιν ι̣[
[ος αν δυνηται πολεος εν τ αρ]χ ην
[επι τωδε δ ηγορευε Διομηδης α]ναξ
8 lines lost.
[οταν γαρ ηδυ]ς̣ τ̣[οις λογοις φρονων κακως
[πειθη το] πλῆθο̣[ς τη πολει κακον μεγα
[οσοι δε συ]ν̣ νῶ̣ι χρηστα [βουλευουσ αει
[καν μη πα]ραυτικ αυτι̣[ς εισι χρησιμοι

Verso.

. . . . . .

[υμιν αμυνων] ο̣υδε[ν ησσον η πατρι
[εκτεινα μ]ητέρ [ει γαρ αρσενων φονος
[εσται γυν]α̣ι̣ξ̣[ιν οσιος ου φθανοιτ ετ αν
8 lines lost.
[ος ηγορευε συγγονον σε τε κτ]α̣νει[ν
[μολις δ επεισε μη πε]τ̣ρ̣[ουμ]ενος θ̣[ανειν
[τλημων Ορεστης αυτο]χε[ιρι] δὲ σφα[γηι
[υπεσχετ εν τηδ ημερ]α̣ι̣ [λ]ει̣ψειν β̣[ιον

Fr. 9. Fol. 1 verso. Plate VII.

Ηλ(εκτρα) Μυκηνι[δες ω φιλαι
1248 τα πρωτα [κατα Πελασγον εδος Αργειων
χορ(os) τινα [θροεις αυδαν ποτνια

1250 π̣[α]ρ̣[αμενει γαρ ετι σοι τοδ εν Δαναιδων πολει
στηθ̣ [αι μεν υμων τονδ αμαξηρη τριβον
αι δ [εν]θ̣[αδ αλλον οιμον ες φρουραν δομων
τ̣[ι δε με τοδε χρεος απυεις
ε̣[ννεπε μοι φιλα
1255 φοβο̣[ς] ε̣χ̣[ει με μη τις επι δωμασι
στα[θεις επι φονιον αιμα
πη[ματα πημασιν εξευρη
[χωρειτ επειγωμεσθ εγω μεν ουν τριβον
1259 [τονδ̀ εκφυλαξω τον προς ηλιου βολας
αλ]λ̣ο ημιχ(οριον) και μ[ην εγω τονδ ος προς εσπεραν φερει
1261 δ̣[οχμια νυν κορας διαφερ ομματων
ε̣[κειθεν ενθαδ ειτα παλινσκοπιαν
εχομ[εν ως θροεις
. . . . . .

Fol. 1 recto.

1297 [ηκουσαθ ανδρες χειρ εχουσιν εν φο]ν̣ωι
[Ελενης το κωκυμ εστιν ως απεικασ]αι·
[ω Διος ω Διος αεναον κρατος]
1300 [ελθ επικουρος εμοισι φιλοισι πα]ντως
[Μενελαε θνησκω συ δε παρων μ ουκ ω]φ̣ε̣λ̣ε̣ι̣[ς
[φονευετε καινετε]
[ολλυτε διπτυχα διστομα φασγανα]
[εκ χερος ιεμενοι]
1305 [λιποπατορα λιπογαμον α πλειστο]υ̣ς
. . . . . .

Fol. 2 recto.

τ
[[.]]λ̣ημων Ορεσ[της μη θανειν εμου θ υπερ
1335 [επ α]ξιοισι τ αρ [ανευφημει δομος
π[ερ]ι του γαρ αλ̣[λου μαλλον αν φθεγξαιτο τις
[αλλ ε]λθε κα[ι μετασχες ικεσιας φιλοις
[ση μ]η̣τ̣ρ̣[ι] π̣[ροσπεσουσα τη μεγ ολβια

Μενελα[ον ημας μη θανοντας εισιδειν
ἀγ' ὦ τραφ[εισα μητρος εν χεροιν εμης
οικτειρον ἡ[μας καπικουφισον κακων
ιθ' εις αγω[να δευρ εγω δ ηγησομαι
σω[τηριας γαρ τερμ εχεις ημιν μονη
ἰ[δου διωκω τον εμον ες δομους ποδα
σ[ωθηθ οσον γε τουπ εμ ω κατα στεγας
. . . . . .

Fol. 2 verso. Plate VII.

[πεφευγα βαρβαροις ευμα]ρισιν *ειδος υποδηματο[ς*
[κεδρωτα πασταδων υπερ] τερεμνα *η πασταs*
π[ε]πο[ι]κιλμενο[ς
. . . . . *[οι]κος*

448. *ἡμ[η*: so ABLPV, edd.; *ἦ γ ἦ* (*γ* in rasura) M. The breathing is very doubtful.

472. *χεομενος*: so ABLPV, edd.; *χεύμενος* M.

485. *εν βαρ]βαροις*: so ABLMPV, edd.; *γράφεται ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος* M*v* and Apollon. Ty. *Epist.* 34.

508. *αποκτει]νιεν συλλεκτρ[ος*: l. *αποκτεινειε συλ*. The MSS. have *ἀποκτείνειεν ὁμόλεκτρος*, but *σύλλεκτρος* is a good Euripidean word; cf. *Her. Fur.* 1, 1268. Possibly *ὁμόλεκτρος* is a reminiscence of l. 476, where it has a somewhat different sense.

511. The initial lacuna ought to contain 13–14 letters, and *ποι* was no doubt omitted in its proper place by the first hand; the deletion of *ποι* after *κακων* is likely to be due to the corrector of ll. 1334 and 1342. *δὲ ποῖ* is read by all MSS. except L (*δὴ πῆ*) and a corrector of B (*δὲ πῆ*), and there is no reason to suppose an agreement with L here. *δὴ ποῖ* Wecklein, Murray.

686. This verse is bracketed by Wecklein following Hermann.

687. *[το* (ABMV) or *[του* (LP) can equally be read.

813. *[ηλυ]θε Ταν[ταλιδαις*: so MSS. except L, which has *ἦλυθε Τανταλίδαισιν*. The metre of this verse does not correspond to l. 825 of the antistrophe *θανάτου γὰρ ἀμφὶ φόβῳ*, and Hermann proposed *ὕπερ ἦλθε* for *ἦλυθε* in l. 813, Murray *ἀμφὶ φόβῳ θανάτου γάρ* in l. 825.

814. *οικ]τρότατα*: so MSS., Wecklein, Murray; *οἰκτρότατ' ἐς* Weil. The vestiges of the last letter suit *α* better than *ε*.

816–17. The reconstruction is very uncertain. The MSS. have *ὅθεν φόνῳ φάνος ἐξαμείβων δι' αἵματος οὐ προλεί|* (om. *ὅθεν* A), but l. 816 does not correspond to l. 828 of the antistrophe *κτείνων σὰν ματέρα μὴ πατρῴ|* (*κτείνων* with *ὅρα* suprascr. A). Triclinius proposed *ἔνθεν* for *ὅθεν* in l. 816, Hartung deleted *σάν* in l. 828, but neither emendation yields an exact correspondence. Neither *οθε]ν* nor *τε[κεω]ν'* suits the vestiges of ink before *φόν[* so well as *ω* with *ι* added above the line, apparently by the first hand. Probably *ὅθεν* was omitted with A, but *[. . . .]ωι φον[ωι φονος* can be read, and the vestige of a letter in the next line would suit *ο* or *σ* better than *α*, so that *εξαμειβων δι| αιματ]ο[ς* is possible.

850. There is no trace of ink above *πε]ρι*. In ll. 852–4 23–4 letters are lost in the lacuna, but in 850 30, and in 851 29; these two lines spoken by the chorus therefore projected, although iambic. The *ἄγγελος* begins at l. 852.

897. At the end of the line the first hand wrote *αρ]χη*, which was corrected to *αρ]χαισιν ην*, the last word being altered to *ηι*, apparently by the same corrector. *ἀρχαῖσιν ᾗ* MSS.

There may have been another variant earlier in the line, for the reading of the MSS. gives only 22 letters in the space which in ll. 896 and 898 is occupied by 25. πλεῖστον has been conjectured by F. W. Schmidt for πόλεος (v. l. πόλεως).

907. τ[οις, the reading of the MSS., was corrected to τις by Musgrave. Lines 907–13 have generally been bracketed by editors following Kirchhoff, and ll. 916, 933, and 938–42 have been suspected, but they all either certainly or probably stood in the papyrus.

910. πα̣ραυτικ: or πα]ραυτίκ. For αυτι[ς (i. e. αὖθις: so MSS.) cf. **1174**. ix. 20 and note. There is a lacuna above the τ.

945. The papyrus is more likely to have had ηγορευε with ABM (Wecklein) than ηγορευσε with LP (Murray), since there are already 23 letters lost in the space which is filled in ll. 946–8 by 21.

946. πε]τρ[ουμ]ενος: so M, Wecklein; πετρουμένους ABLPV, Murray.

1247 sqq. Paragraphi were not employed by the first hand, but Electra's lines project beyond those of the chorus; the arrangement is right as far as l. 1259, but not from 1260–3. The subsequent insertion of paragraphi and of αλ]λο ημιχ(οριον) against l. 1260 brings the papyrus into harmony with the MSS., which apparently assign ll. 1258–9 and 1260 to different ἡμιχόρια, 1261–2 to Electra (L gives 1261 to the chorus), 1263 to the chorus (so Wecklein); Wilamowitz, followed by Murray, assigns 1262 to the chorus. Paragraphi may be lost below ll. 1259, 1262, and 1263, but hardly below 1261.

1250. π[α]ρ[αμενει γαρ: the MSS. apparently begin this line with γάρ, but the traces of the first letter suit π better than γ.

1305. The restoration, which follows the ordinary reading of the MSS., gives 27 letters in the lacuna, the corresponding space in l. 1297 being filled by 28, in 1298 and 1300–1 by 27. Since all the indications point to the lines in this column having begun evenly, unlike those in ll. 1247–63, it is improbable that before λιποπατορα the papyrus read ταν which is inserted by *l* and adopted by edd., or εις which is inserted by B^2; but there would be room for θ' before α, as desiderated by Hermann.

1334. τλημων: so MSS. There has certainly been a correction, affecting perhaps the first three letters. The τ above the line is large, and probably due to the corrector of l. 1342 and perhaps 511, who is different from the corrector of 897; cf. introd.

1335. α]ξιοισι τ' αρ[: so A (τ' ἄρ'); ἀξίοισιν ἄρ' L, ἀξίοισιν ἀρ' B^2, ἀξίοις τ' ἄρ' P, ἀξίοισιν γὰρ MB, ἀξίοισί τ' ἄρ' Wecklein, ἀξίοισί τἄρ' Murray.

1337. κά[ι: so ABMP, edd.; om. L.

1340. αγ': Weil's emendation is confirmed; ἀλλ' MSS. and **1178**, Wecklein, Murray. ἀλλ' has already occurred at the beginning of 1337 and is not wanted again here.

1342. ιθ' (so MSS.) was corrected from ωδ apparently.

1346 sqq. Since this column presumably had 37 or 38 lines like the rest, and the next column begins at ll. 1369–70, the papyrus no doubt included 1366–8, which are generally rejected on the authority of the scholium stating that they were interpolated by the actors.

1370. If, as is probable, ll. 1370–1 began evenly, most or all the letters of πεφευγα, which is usually assigned to 1369, must have come in 1370. βαρβάροις εὐμάρισι is the reading of A, followed by Wecklein; βαρβάροις ἐν εὐμάρισιν BLP (so Murray), βαρβάροισιν ἐν εὐμάρισιν M. The Etym. Magn. also read ἐν, but there is barely room for it in the papyrus unless πε|φευγα be read.

The scholium ειδος υποδηματος refers to ευμα]ρισιν. A longer note beginning εὔμαρις εἶδος ὑποδήματος σανδαλώδους, occurs in schol. BM.

1371. τερεμνα: so ALP; τέραμνα BMV, Wecklein, Murray. With the scholium on παστάδων cf. Hesych. παστάς· οἶκος γεγραμμένος. Schol. BM have παστάδων δὲ τῶν κοιτώνων.

After an interval of three lines there are below the α of τερεμνα what may be traces of ink, possibly the termination of l. 1376 αιθε]ρ α[μ or αιθερ] αμ.

1371. ARISTOPHANES, *Clouds* with Scholia.

10·6 × 12 cm. Fifth century. Plate VII (recto).

This fragment and the other pieces of Aristophanes in the present volume (**1372–4** and **1402–3**?) were discovered with **1369–70**. Egypt has done little hitherto for the text of that poet, for none of the extant papyrus or vellum pieces is earlier than the late fourth century and nearly all are of slight value, the most interesting being the Hermopolis fragments of the *Acharnians*, *Frogs*, and *Birds* (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 2, no. 18), which confirm six emendations but do not present a very correct text. **1371–4** together are somewhat more extensive than the Berlin fragments, with which they are probably contemporary, and exhibit much the same characteristics. That they belong to four different MSS. is not certain, the hands being very similar though not identical. The number of the page, which is preserved in the case of the *Wasps* (**1374**), indicates that that play stood probably seventh, and the four plays (*Clouds*, *Frogs*, *Peace*, *Knights*) represented in the other fragments may well have been among those which preceded the *Wasps*, as they do in the Codex Venetus (V) together with the *Plutus* and *Birds*. But since the text of **1374** differs from the rest in its marked support of V and the absence of corrections, and the number of lines in a column, so far as can be judged, varies considerably (37 in **1371**, 39?–41 in **1372**, 44 in **1373**, 45–9 in **1374**), while **1371** is distinguished by the presence of scholia, it is safer to regard the different hands as representing separate MSS. If any two of the four are to be combined, these would be **1373** and **1374**, in both of which double dots are employed to mark a change of speaker.

1371 is the upper part of the first leaf of the *Clouds*, containing on the verso a few letters from the ends of ll. 1–11 and on the recto parts of ll. 38–48 in a good-sized, sloping uncial of the oval type. In the broad upper and right-hand margins of the verso are scholia on ll. 2–5 in a small uncial hand which is perhaps identical with that of the main text, and lower down is a gloss somewhat more cursively written than the scholia, but possibly by the same scribe. In any case these notes, which are in brown ink like the main text, are probably contemporary with it. Whether the longer notes occurred in the later columns except at rare intervals, if at all, is doubtful. Since l. 1 coincides with the top of a column (cf. **1373** in which a new play begins near the bottom of a column), it is quite possible that the *Clouds* was the first play in this MS.; in the Ravennas (R) and V the *Plutus* stands first, the *Clouds* second; but, while this is the fourth fragment of the *Clouds* obtained from Egypt (cf. Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, xxxv. 604 sqq. and

Berl. Klassikert. v. 2, no. 18. 2–3), no fragment of the *Plutus* has yet been found in that country. On the recto there are glosses in the left-hand margin, but in black ink instead of brown and in a certainly different semi-uncial hand; the upper margin has some brief notes on l. 52 in somewhat lighter ink by a similar but apparently not identical hand, while the speaker's name added also in light black ink before l. 38 is due to yet a third annotator of this column. A correction of the order of words in l. 47 was made, probably later than the glosses in the left-hand margin, by the writer of the notes at the top or by the writer of the speaker's name, and the same person may well have been responsible for the accents and breathings as far as l. 38, those in ll. 39–48 being apparently due to the original scribe, who also inserted the elision-marks, paragraphi, and occasional stops (high and middle). The notes in the various semi-uncial hands can be assigned with confidence to the fifth century, to which the body of the text is also likely to belong. The scholia in **1402** are certainly in a different hand.

The fragment (Π) is too short to show the quality of the text. A variation in the order of words in l. 47 which has been rightly corrected does not inspire confidence in a more legitimate variation of a similar character in l. 43. The original scholia on ll. 3–5, unlike the third-century commentary on the *Acharnians* (**856**), closely resemble the extant scholia, of which the older portions are derived from Didymus and other Alexandrian grammarians. In the fragmentary scholia on the *Knights* (late fourth or fifth century) published by us in *Mélanges Nicole*, p. 214, the agreement with the extant scholia is less marked than here. In some places the readings of Π are superior, but in general schol. R and V are fuller. The later notes have little or no connexion with the extant scholia.

Verso.

. . . . . .

(l. 5) οι δ οικεται ρεγκουσιν ουτως οι Αττικοι δια του] κ· οι[κετα]ς ν[υ]ν ο[υ τους θεραποντας μονον λεγει αλλα παντας τους κατα την οικι]αν· κα[θευδ]ουσι μεν ουν ο[ι αλλοι αυτος δε αγρυπνει και ρεγκουσιν επη]γαγεν [ι]να μαλλον αν[του]ς δειξη πασης [ονταs εξω φροντιδος ιδιον γαρ των μηδεν φροντ]ιζοντων το βαθεως καθευδειν·

[ιου ιου]
[ω Ζευ βασιλευ το χρημα των νυκτω]ν ὅσον
[απεραντον ουδεποθ ημερα γενησ]εται
[και μην παλαι γ αλεκτρυονος] ήκουσ᾽ εγώ
[οι δ οικεται ρεγκουσιν αλλ ουκ α]ν πρ[ο] τοῦ
[απολοιο δητ ω πολεμε πολλων ουνεκα]

ω Ζευ βασιλευ ουκ απλως χρη του[τ]ο νόμιζειν ειρηκεναι τον ποιη[τη]ν εχεται γαρ ἱστοριας το ω Ζευ βασιλευ τοιαυτης τοις Αθηναιοις Πυθοχρησ
τον εγενετο κατακλυσαι μεν τας βασιλειας· προστησασθαι δε και σε βειν Δια βασιλεα ωστε το λεχθεν της ἱστοριας εχεσθαι ταυτης χρη νομιζειν

[οτ ουδε κολασ εξεστι μοι τους οικετας]
[αλλ ουδ ο χρηστος ουτοσι νεανιας]
[εγειρεται της νυκτος αλλα περδεται]
[εν πεντε σισυραις εγκεκορδυλημενο]ς
[αλλ ει δοκει ρεγκωμεν εγκεκαλυμμέ]ν[οι
. . . . . .

※ ουδεποθ' ημερα γενησεται· τουτο και ὀργιζομενος και υποκρινομενος δυναται λεγειν·

κατακεκαλυμμενος . . . . . .

Recto. Plate VII.

(l. 52) / λαφ(υγμου) τ(ης) τρυφης η κενεσεως χρημ[ατων : Κωλ(ιαδος) ναος εοικως κωλοις ! εν ω τιμαται η Αφροδιτη : Γενετελ(λιδος) [

+

Φειδιπ(πιδης) ἔασον ὠ δαίμονιε κατ[αδαρθειν τι με
σὺ δ' οὖν κάθευδε· τα δ[ε χρεα ταυτ ισθ οτι
ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἅπαν[τα την σην τρεψεται
καθ εαυτον λεγει φεῦ· εἶθ' ὡφελ' ἤ προμν[ηστρι απολεσθαι κακως
ἥτις με γῆμ' επῆρ[ε την σην μητερα
εμοὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡδ[ὺστος αγροικος βιος
ρυπαρος ευρωτιῶν ακόρ[ητος εικη κειμενος
πλ[η]θων βρύων μελίτ'ταις [και προβατοις και στεμφυλοις
ἔπειτ' ἔγημα Μ[εγακλεους του Μεγακλεους
β̄ ā
την θυγατερα του αδελφου ἄγροικος ων αδ[ελφιδην εξ αστεως
]..[σεμνὴν τρυφω[σαν εγκεκοισυρωμενην
. . . . . .

2. The marginal note (ll. 1–8) on ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ agrees nearly verbally with schol. RVΘ Ald., which have in l. 1 ἀργῶς for απλως, l. 5 καταλῦσαι (rightly) for κατακλυσαι, l. 8 ταύτης ἔχεσθαι for εχεσθαι ταυτης. V also has in l. 1 νομίζειν τοῦτο for τ. νομ., Ald. in l. 2 τὸν ποιητὴν εἰρηκέναι for ειρ. τ. π., omitting το ω Ζευ βασιλευ in l. 3 and και σεβειν in l. 6, Θ Ald. Πυθοχρήστως for Πυθοχρηστον in l. 4, R omits μεν in l. 5, and RV at the end have an additional sentence with a quotation from Homer.

3. With the marginal note (ll. 9–11) on οὐδεποθ' ἡμέρα γενήσεται cf. schol. V τοῦτο καὶ ὁριζόμενος δύναται λέγειν, where ὁριζόμενος is shown by Π to be an error for ὀργιζόμενος.

5. The note in the upper margin upon οἱ δ' οἰκέται ῥέγκουσιν corresponds closely to the extant scholia, Ald. having οὕτως Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ κ (οὕτως . . . κ om. RVΘ), οἰκέτας δὲ νῦν (νῦν οἰκέτας RVΘ) οὐ τοὺς θεράποντας μόνον (om. V) λέγει ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, καθεύδουσιν οὖν πάντες (καθεύδουσι νῦν, φησίν R, καθεύδοντας V) ὡς τῶν ἄλλων μὲν (om. RV) ἀμεριμνούντων αὐτοῦ δὲ φροντίζοντος (αὐτὸν δὲ φροντίζοντα R). διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ (om. RVΘ) ῥέγκουσιν ἐπήγαγεν (εἶπεν RV) ἵνα μᾶλλον δείξῃ αὐτοὺς πάσης ὄντας ἔξω φροντίδος. τῶν γὰρ βαθέως καθευδόντων ἴδιόν ἐστι (om. R) τὸ ῥέγκειν (τῶν δὲ μηδὲν φροντιζόντων τὸ βαθέως καθεύδειν add. V and, with κοιμᾶσθαι for καθεύδειν, R). Π may have lost another line at the top, in which case the

beginning was different; but if the size of the lacuna in ll. 2–4 is correctly estimated, the opening sentence of schol. Ald. just fits the gap in l. 1. If l. 4 is to harmonize with schol. RV, about 30 letters must be added on to each line, for which there is hardly room, and which are not required in l. 2. Π seems to have omitted the first half of this sentence, just as schol. Ald. has omitted the second half. In ll. 2–3 Π seems to be somewhat shorter than the extant scholia, which in both R and V are corrupt. The use of *ἐπήγαγεν* in Ald. for *εἶπεν* in RV affords another point of contact with Π.

10. *κατακεκαλυμμενος* in the margin is a gloss on *εγκεκορδυλημενα]ς*. Schol. V has a long note which is partly found in R, explaining the word as *ἐγκεκαλυμμένος καὶ συνεστραμμένος*.

38. Above the paragraphus over *ἑασον* something was written by the first hand which looks more like a cross than *ι* with a stroke through it, or *ψ*. If it is more than a false start, it may be a critical mark. That it is a number referring to the page or quire is improbable.

39. *δ' οὖν*: so RVAG, &c., edd.; *μὲν οὖν* or *οὖν* other MSS.

40. *ες*: so R, edd.; *εἰς* V.

41. *καθ εαυτον λεγει* refers to *φεῦ*; cf. schol. V *ἰδίᾳ τὸ φεῦ* and Ald. *τὸ δὲ φεῦ ἰδίως*. The *ε* of *εἶθ'* has been corrected by the first hand, probably from *θ*. *ὤφελ'* is misspelled *ὄφελ'* by R. That *ῆ* had an accent as well as a breathing is not certain.

43. *ἡδι[στος αγροικος*: *ἄγροικος ἥδιστος* MSS., edd.; Naber conjectured *ἄγρ. ἥσυχος*. The order in Π does not appear to have been corrected (cf. l. 47) and may be right; but under the accent over *η* is in similar ink a short horizontal stroke which is difficult to account for, being unlike a breathing or letter. Perhaps another circumflex (cf. the preceding *ἦν*) was partly written by mistake.

44. The marginal *ρυπαρος* probably refers to *ευρωτιῶν* rather than to *ακόρ[ητος*. The scholia in a fuller note explain *εὐρωτιῶν* by *εἰκῇ κείμενος*, *ἀκόρητος* by *ἀκαλλώπιστος*.

45. *πλ[η]θων* refers to *βρύων*: cf. schol. R (not in V) *αὔξων καὶ τεθηλώς*. Suidas s. v. *ἀκόρητος* adds *καὶ πληθύνων*, schol. Θ has *θάλλων*.

47. *την θυγατερα του αδελφου* refers to *αδ[ελφιδην*. Schol. Θ has *τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα*. The MSS. all have *ἀδελφιδῆν ἄγροικος ὤν*, agreeing with the corrector, and the reading of the first hand, which separates *ἀδελφιδῆν* from *Μεγακλέους τοῦ* M. and gives no caesura, is a mere error; cf. l. 43, note. Above the *α* of *αδ[ελφιδην* is what may be a grave accent, but these are not employed elsewhere in the papyrus, and the stroke, which is very short, may be accidental.

48. The marginal note no doubt referred to *σεμνὴν* or *εγκεκοισυρωμενην*, which are both commented upon in RV.

52. The note in the upper margin refers to this line *δαπάνης, λαφυγμοῦ, Κωλιάδος, Γενετυλλίδος*. It is preceded by a critical mark which may have been repeated in the main text. *τ* of *τ(ης)* has a stroke through it like that through the *φ* of *λαφ(υγμου)* and *λ* of *Γενετελ(λιδος)*. The form *κένεσις* for *κένωσις* is not known (*κενέωσις* occurs in Pindar), and is probably a mere misspelling like *Γενετελ(λιδος)* in the next line, which, moreover, may well have contained the word *γενεσεως*. With the explanation of *λαφυγμοῦ* as *τ(ῆς) τρυφῆς καὶ κενώσεως χρημ[άτων* cf. schol. V *ἀδηφαγίας καὶ πολυτελείας· τουτέστι ἐκδεδι[τημένης πολυτελεῖ τροφῇ· λαφυγμὸν γὰρ λέγει τὸ ἀπλήστως ἐσθίειν*, schol. Ald. *τῆς περὶ τὰ ἐδέσματα πολυτελείας· τουτέστιν ἀσωτίας. λαφυγμὸν γὰρ κτλ.*, adding quotations from Eupolis and Homer, schol. R *ἀδηφαγίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἐδέσματα πολυτελείας*. In view of the scholium in Π, *τροφῇ* in schol. V is probably corrupt for *τρυφῇ*: cf. *τρυφὴ καὶ πολυτέλεια* in Xen. *Memor.* i. 6. 10 and schol. Brunck s. v. *καταγλωττισμάτων* (l. 51) *εἰκότως δὲ ταῦτα καταλέγει δεικνὺς ὅτι αἱ εὐγενεῖς γυναῖκες ὑπὸ τῆς λίαν τρυφῆς τοιαῦτα πράττουσι*. Π, unlike schol. R Ald., explains *λαφυγμός* as waste of money, not gluttony, and the first part of the note in schol. V may have meant the same, for *ἀδηφαγία*, like *λαφυγμός*, is used in both senses.

Κωλ(ιαδος) *ναος εοικως κωλοις*] *εν ω τιμαται η Αφροδιτη* : cf. schol. V Κωλιοὶ *ναὸς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὕτω καλούμενος, ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβών· νεανίας γὰρ . . .* Κωλιὰς *δὲ ἐκλήθη ὅτι θύοντος τοῦ ἱερέως ἱερεῖον κωλῆς ἱέραξ ἥρπαζεν καὶ ἐπέκεινα* (l. *ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ* with Suidas) *τῷ τόπῳ ἐπεκαθέσθη.* Schol. R is nearly identical, but in place of the last sentence adds Κωλιάδα *δὲ προσηγόρευσε τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τῶν κώλων ἃ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς κατεπονεῖτο.* Schol. Ald. has *οἱ μὲν* Κωλιάδα *τὴν θεὸν καλοῦσι νεανίου Ἀττικοῦ ἀποδράντος . . . οἱ δὲ τόπον ἐοικότα κώλοις ἀνδρός, ἔνθα ἡ θεὸς τιμᾶται.* Whether Π had *εοικως κωλοις* after *ναος* (or *τοπος*) is uncertain, but in any case the interpretation given by *οἱ δέ* in Schol. Ald. seems to be meant.

Γενετελ(λιδος) [: l. Γενετυλ(λιδος). Something like *δαιμων τ(ης) γενεσεως αιτιος* probably followed ; cf. schol. R *δαίμων περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τῆς γενέσεως ἔφορος* (*αἴτιος* Suid.), and schol. V *οἱ μὲν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀφρ. ἀξιοῦσι θεῶν μίαν εἶναι διὰ τὸ γενέσεως αὐτὴν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰτίαν κτλ.*

1372. ARISTOPHANES, *Frogs*.

Fr. 3 10·8 × 9·4 cm. Fifth century.

These four fragments of two leaves from a codex of the *Frogs* were found with **1371** and **1373–4**, with which they are probably contemporary though certainly in a different hand and probably from a different MS. ; cf. **1371**. introd. The script, like that of **1373**, is more compact than that of **1371** and **1374**, and is also distinguished by its form of λ which is often large and almost cursive. Parts of fifty-five lines are preserved from the early and middle portions of the play. Iota adscript is sometimes written. A correction in l. 855 is by a different hand which used black ink, and to the same person are probably due the occasional accents (in Fr. 1 only) and stops. All three kinds of points are employed, but not very accurately, since the middle point is used instead of the high at the end of l. 44 where there is a change of speaker. Marks of elision and diaereses are due to the first hand.

The text, like that of the Berlin fragments of this play (cf. **1371**. introd.), is of slight interest, but tends on the whole to support the most ancient MS., R (tenth century). Agreements with R against V, &c., are found in ll. 847 (?), 852, 853, and 893, and with RV and the Ambrosianus (M) against the Urbinas (U) in ll. 857 and 891, while V, &c., are supported against R in ll. 890 and 894. Mistakes occur in ll. 887 and 890, and very probably in ll. 879, 891, and 892, as well as in ll. 888 and 897, where the MSS. too are corrupt and the error is now traced back to the fifth century.

Fr. 1. Recto.

. . . . . .

44 [ω *δαιμονιε προσελθε δεομαι γαρ τι*] *σου·*

45 [*αλλ ουχ οιος τ ειμ αποσοβ*]*ησαι τον γελ*[*ων*

[ορων λεοντην επι κροκω]τῶι κειμ[ενην
[τις ο νους τι κοθορνος και] ρόπαλον [ξυνηλθετην
[ποι γης απεδημεις επε]βατευον Κλεισ[θενει
[καναυμαχησας και κα]τεδυσ[α]μεν γε [ναυς
[των πολεμιων η δωδε]κ̣᾽ ἡ [τρι]σ̣καίδ[εκα
. . . . . .

Verso.

. . . . . .
[ποι γη]ς ο τ̣λ̣ημ̣[ων ες μακαρων ευωχιαν
[ο δε Ξε]νοκλεης [εξολοιτο νη Δια
[Πυθαγ]᾽γελος δε π̣[ερι εμου δ ουδεις λογος
[επιτρ]ιβομενου τ̣[ον ωμον ουτωσι σφοδρα
[ουκο]υν ετερ᾽ εστ εν[ταυθα μειρακυλλια
[τραγ]ω̣δίας ποιοῦν[τα πλειν η μυρια
[Ευριπι]δ̣ο̣υ̣ [π]λ̣ε̣ι̣ν̣ η [σταδιω λαλιστερα
. . . . . .

Frs. 2–4. Verso.

. . . . . .
[αληθες ω παι της αρουραιας θεου]
[συ δη με ταυτ ω στρωμυλιοσυλλεκτα]δη
[και πτωχοποιε και ρακιοσυρραπτα]δη
[αλλ ου τι χαιρων αυτ ερεις παυ Αισ]χυλε
[και μη προς οργην σπλαγχνα θερμηνης κοτ]ῳ
[ου δητα πριν γ αν τουτον αποφηνω σαφως]
[τον χωλοποιον οιος ων θρασυνετ]α̣ι̣
[αρν αρνα μελανα] π̣α̣ι̣[δε]ς ε̣[ξενεγκατ]ε
[Τυφως γαρ εκβαι]νειν π̣α̣[ρασκευαζετ]α̣ι̣
[ω Κρητικας μεν σ]υλλεγων μονωδιας
[γαμους δ ανοσιους] εισφερων εις την τεχνη[ν
[επισχες ουτος ω πολυ]τιμη[τ]᾽ Αι[σχ]υλε.
[απο των χαλαζων δ] ῳ πονηρ᾽ Ευριπιδη
αναγ[ε σεαυτον εκπο]δων ει σωφρονεις
ἵνα μ[η κεφαλαιω τ]ον κροταφον σου ρηματι

θενῳ[ν υπ οργης εκχεη το]ν̣ Τ̣ηλεφ[[ω]]ν̣·
[συ δε μη προς οργην Αισχυλ αλλα] πραονως
[ελεγχ ελεγχου λ]ο̣ιδορεισθαι [δ ου πρε]π̣ει
[ανδρας ποιητας] ωσπερ αρτοπωλιδας·
[συ δ ευθυς ωσπερ πρι]νος εμ[π]ρ̣η̣[σ]θ̣εις β[ο]αις
[ετοιμος ειμ εγωγε κουκ αναδυομαι]
[δακνειν δακνεσθαι προτερος ει τουτ]ω̣ι̣ δοκει.

. . . . . .

Recto.

ελθετ επη̣[. . . . . δυναμιν
δεινοτατο̣[ιν στοματοιν πορισασθαι
ρηματα κα[ι παραπρισματ επων
νυν γ[αρ αγων σοφιας οδε μεγας
[χωρει προς εργον ηδη]
[ευχεσθε δ]η και [σφω τι πριν ταπη λεγειν
[Δημ]ητερ η θρ[εψασα την εμην φρενα
[εινα]ι με των [σων αξιον] μ̣αρτηρ̣ι̣[ων
[επιθε]ς και συ δη λιβαν[ωτο]ν λαβω[ν καλως
[ετεροι] γαρ εισιν οισιν ευχομα[ι θεοις
[ιδιοι τι]νες οι κομμα κ[α]ινον κ̣[αι μαλα
[ιθι] δη προσευχου τ̣[.] . τ̣ο̣ισιν ϊ[διωταις θεοις
[.] . [. .] α̣ι̣θηρ [[αι]]μον βοσκημα κ̣[αι γλωσσης στροφιγξ
και ξυνεσι και μυκτηρες οσφρ[αντηριοι
ορθως μ ελεγχειν ων αν απτ[ωμαι λογων
και μην η[μεις επιθυμουμεν
παρα σοφ[οιν ανδροιν ακουσαι τινα λογων
εμμ[ε]λ̣[ειαν] ε̣πιε δ̣α̣ι̣[α]ν̣ [οδον
γλωσσα μεν γαρ ηγριωται [
λημα δ ουκ ατολμον αμφ[οιν ουδ ακινητοι φρενες
προσ[δοκαν ουν ε]ικος ε[στι
τον μ̣[εν αστειον τι λεξαι και κατερρινημενον
τον̣ [δ ανασπωντ αυτοπρεμνοις

. . . . . .

87. The doubtful π of π[ερι might be a low stop by the first hand.

846. A high stop may have been lost at the end of the line.

847. Before the final ε of ε[ξενεγκατ]ε everything is very uncertain, but considerations of space make it probable that Π had μελανα with R, Velsen, H(all)–G(eldart), not μελαιναν with VUAM, &c.

848. πα[ρασκευαζετ]αι or -τ]ε· can be read; -ται MSS., edd.; but cf. l. 892.

851. Αι[σχ]υλε. or, possibly, Αι[σχ]υλε:, if the upper dot is not part of the ε; but there is no change of speaker.

852. δ]: so R, edd.; τ' M, om. VUA. That Π did not omit a conjunction is practically certain, for even with δ or τ there are only 15 letters in the space occupied by 18 in l. 851 and by 16 in l. 853.

853. αναγ[ε: so R and most edd.; ἄπαγε VUAM, &c.

855. θενω[ν: so RVUM and most MSS. (θένων) and edd. (θενών); but θε[ι]νω[ν (A and a few other MSS.) is possible.

857. πρε]πει: so RVAM, H–G; θέμις U, &c., Velsen.

859. εμ[π]ρη[σ]θεις (RUM correctly) or εμ[π]ρι[σ]θεις (VA) can be read.

861. τουτ]ωι: or, less probably, τουτ]ω.

879. επη[.....: επο[ψομεναι (so MSS. except R ἐπ' ὀψόμεναι) cannot be read, nor apparently επιο[ψομεναι or επε[. The arrangement of ll. 879–902 corresponds to that in RV, from which UAM differ.

881. ρηματα (so MSS., Blaydes, H–G) has been altered by many editors (πρέμνα τε Velsen following Kock).

882. οδε (restored from the MSS.) is generally altered to ὁ by editors, following Hermann.

887. μαρτηρι[ων (i. e. μαρτυριων) is a mistake for μυστηριων.

888. και συ δη λιβαν[ωτο]ν λαβω[ν: so Suidas (om. λαβών); καὶ δὴ σὺ λιβ. λαβών R, λαβὼν δὴ καὶ σὺ λιβ. VUAM, &c., H–G; a few MSS. have καὶ σὺ λιβ. λαβών or λαβὼν καὶ σὺ λιβ. Π's order lends some support to Fritzsche's λιβ. καὶ σὺ δὴ λαβών, which is adopted by Velsen.

890. τι]νες οι: οι is a mistake for σοι, the reading of VUA, edd.; τινες σου R, τινες σοι καί M.

891. δη: so RVM, Velsen, H–G; νῦν UA Ald. After προσευχου Π has three letters which are absent in the MSS. Possibly the scribe wrote τ[ο]ντοισιν ι[διοις (ιδιοι occurred in l. 890) for τοισιν ιδιωταις. Only one dot is visible above the supposed ι[.

892. αιθηρ εμον is the reading of the MSS., but besides αιμον originally for εμον the scribe wrote four (perhaps only three) superfluous letters at the beginning of the line. Of these all that is left is the bottom of a vertical stroke which would suit γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, π, or τ, and may have been the initial letter. It is not certain that there was any writing at all between the doubtful α and θηρ.

893. ξυνεσι: so R, edd.; ξύνεσις VUAM.

894. αν απτ[ωμαι: so VUAM, edd.; ἅπτομαι R.

897. εμμ[ε]λ[ειαν] επιε: ἐμμέλειαν ἔπιτε RVUA, Velsen, H–G, ἐμ. ἐπί τε M, Bekker. In the corresponding passage of the antistrophe (l. 994) the MSS. omit the word or words answering either to εμμελειαν or to επιτε δαΐ], and Dindorf wished to omit ἐμμέλειαν here. ἔπιτε δαΐαν ὁδόν is not very satisfactory and was not the reading of the first hand of Π, who wrote επιε before δαι[α]ν [; but only the bottoms of the letters αι[α]ν remain, and there may have been a correction.

902. The ο of τον seems to have been corrected.

1373. ARISTOPHANES, *Peace* and *Knights*.

Fr. 1 8·5 × 17·3 cm. Fifth century.

The larger of these two fragments found with **1369–72** and **1374** (cf. **1371.** introd.) is the upper portion of a leaf containing on the verso ten lines from the concluding scene of the *Peace*, and on the recto ten lines from the opening scene of the *Knights*, the text of which began five lines before the end of the column on the verso. The order of the plays was thus different from both that in R, where the *Knights* and *Peace* stand fifth and sixth, and that in V, where the *Knights*, *Birds*, and *Peace* occupy the fourth, fifth, and sixth places. Illegible traces of what may have been the number of the page occur on the verso. The smaller fragment, which belongs to a much later scene of the *Knights*, is not quite certainly in the same hand as the other, for the letters are more spaced out, as in **1371** and **1374**, while in the larger fragment the writing tends to be compact. The hand of **1374** is, however, distinctly larger, and on the whole it is probable that both fragments of the *Knights* belong to the same MS. The only stops found are double dots indicating a change of speaker. These are generally by the first hand where the change takes place in the middle of a line. Where double dots occur at the ends of lines (*Peace* 1328 and 1331), these are due to a corrector, who used darker ink and was also responsible in the *Peace* for the insertion of the missing syllable at the end of l. 1326 in a large cursive hand, the paragraphus after l. 1328, and the deletion of the repetition of l. 1329. The corrections in ll. 6, 7, and 9 of the *Knights* together with the paragraphi are also due to a corrector, but not certainly the same. A solitary (wrong) accent in l. 1334 of the *Peace* and a few other corrections are probably by the first hand, as are certainly the marks of elision and diaereses.

Of the *Knights* the only other papyrus fragment is one from Hermopolis containing parts of ll. 37–46 and 86–95 with scholia (late fourth or fifth century), edited by us in *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 212–17, while the *Peace* has not hitherto been represented on papyrus; but **1373** (Π) is too short to be of much value. The text is carelessly written and the corrector not very observant, as is shown by e. g. l. 11 of the *Knights*; but some errors of R are avoided. R is supported against V three times (*Knights* 7, 14, and 1058), V against R twice (*Knights* 8, 15). A small correction of the MSS. by Blaydes in *Knights* 1017 is confirmed, and perhaps another by Brunck in 1058.

Peace.

Fr. 1. Verso.

. . .

1326 και τ[αγαθα] παντα οσα απωλεσαμεν
συλλε[ξασ]θαι παλιν εξ αρχης
ληξαι τ [αι]θωνα σιδηρον :
1329 δευρο ω [γ]υναι εις αγρον
[[δευρο ω γυναι εις αγρον]]
1330 χωπως μετ εμου καλη
κα[λως κ]ατακει[σ]ει :
1332 υ[μην υμ]εναιε ω
1334 [ω τρισμα]κάρ ω δικαι
1335 [ωσ ταγαθα] νυν ε[χ]εισ

. . . . . .

1326. *παντα οσα απωλεσαμεν* : *πάνθ' ὅσ' ἀπωλέσαμεν* MSS. Abóve *οσα α* there seem to be some traces of ink along the edge of the papyrus, i. e. a page number.

1327. At the end of the line there is a smudge made by the corrector.

1328. *τ*: so RV, &c. (*δ'* C Ald.); but there is no sign of a cross-bar and the letter is rather close to the preceding *ι*, so that perhaps *γ* was written by mistake. The paragraphus inserted below this line by the corrector and the double dots here and in l. 1331 make Π correspond up to that point with RV, which assign ll. 1316–28 to the chorus, 1329–31 to Trygaeus, 1332 to a *ἡμιχόριον*, and 1334 to another *ἡμιχ.*, omitting l. 1333 which was a repetition of l. 1332. Editors arrange and emend ll. 1329 sqq. in a variety of ways. The division of ll. 1332–5 in Π agrees with that in R, V combining 1334 with 1332 and 1336 with 1335.

1329. The repetition of this line, which is found only once in the MSS., was deleted by the corrector. Two instances of a similar repetition occur in ll. 1339–42 (*τί δράσομεν αὐτήν* and *τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν*), which are divided by V between two *ἡμιχόρια*, like the repetitions of *Ὑμὴν Ὑμέναι' ὦ* in ll. 1336, 1346, 1351, and 1361. Dawes rejected ll. 1339–42, concerning which schol. V remarks *ἔν τισιν οὐ φέρεται.* But although the repetition of l. 1329 is no doubt wrong, it supports the view that ll. 1339–42 were found in Π, as well as the three concluding lines which stand in RV but are absent in many MSS. After the 10 extant lines of the *Peace* there is just room for 25 more lines (ll. 1336–end) arranged as in R (V combines them into 14), besides the first 5 lines of the *Knights* (cf. Fr. 1 recto); for since the normal column probably contained about 44 lines (cf. Fr. 2), there would still be a space equal to 4 lines available for the title.

1332. *υμ]εναιε ω*: for the absence of elision cf. l. 1326, but the papyrus is much damaged at the end of this line, and *υμ]εναι ω* (so RV) or *υμ]εναιε* is possible.

1334–5. *ω δικαι[ωσ*: l. *ωσ δικ.* with MSS. *ω* is due to the two preceding instances of *ὦ*.

Knights.

Fr. 1. Recto.

κακιστα δηθ' ουτος γε πρωτος Παφλα[γον]ων
αυταις διαβολαις : ω κακοδαιμον πω[ς ε]χεις
κακως καθαπερ συ : δευρο νυν προσε[λ]θ' ινα
ξυναυλιαν κλαυσωμεν Ουλυμπου ν[ο]μο[ν]
μυμυ μυμυ μυμυ μυμυ μυμυ μυμυ μυμυ
τι κρυυρομεθ' αλλως υκ εχρην ζη[τε]ιν τι[ν]α
σωτηριαν νων αλλα μη κλαειν ετι
τι [ο]υν γενοιτ' αν λεγε συ : συ μεν ουν μ[οι λεγε
ϊνα μη μαχωμαι : μα τον Απολλω γω [μεν ου
[αλλ] ε[ι]πε θα[ρρ]ων [ε]ι[τα] κα[γ]ω σο[ι φ]ρασω
. . . . . .

Fr. 2. Recto.

. . . . . .
[ως εν νεφελαισιν] αιετος [γενησομαι
[ακουε δη νυν και] προσεχ[ε τον νουν εμοι
[φραζευ Ερεχθειδ]η λογιω[ν οδον ην σοι Απολλων
[ιαχεν εξ αδυτοι]ο δια τριπ[οδων εριτιμων
[σωζεσθαι σ εκελε]υ' ϊερον [κυνα καρχαροδοντα
. . . . . .

Verso.

. . . . . .
[αλλ ουκ αν μαχεσ]αιτο [χεσαιτο γαρ ει μαχεσαιτο
[αλλα τοδε φρασ]σαι πρ[ο Πυλου Πυλον ην σοι εφραζεν
[εστι Πυλος πρ]ο Πυλοιο : [τι τουτο λεγει προ Πυλοιο
[τας πυελους φ][.]ησιν κ[αταληψεσθ εν βαλανειω
[εγω] δ αλ[λ]ουτ[ος τημερον γενησομαι
[ουτος γα]ρ η[μων τας πυελους αφηρπασεν
. . . . . .

6. The ω of Παφλα[γον]ων seems to have been altered by the corrector from ο of the first hand. -ων MSS.

7. *αυταις*: so RP Ald., edd.; *αὐταῖσι* VArΘ. The first hand wrote *διαʒολαισι* by mistake, a reminiscence of *αυταισι βουλαις* in l. 3; the corrector altered the final *ι* into two dots marking a change of speaker. The *ς* of *ε]χεις* seems to have been rewritten by the first hand in order to make it larger, in harmony with the other enlarged letters at the ends of lines.

8. *νυν*: so V (*νυν*), A, &c. (*νῦν*); *δή* R Vat.^{2}, Zacher, H–G.

9. The MSS. have *νόμον* with the corrector (so edd.), but Eustathius read *νόμῳ*. It is not quite certain that the first hand wrote *ν[ο]μος*, but the final letter is not *υ*, *ω*, or *ι*.

11. *κρνυρομεθ'*: l. *κινυρομεθ'* with ArΘ; *κινυρόμεσθ'* RP, *κυνυρόμεσθ'* V. The *κ* of *νκ* (l. *ουκ*) is badly written, being almost like *η*. *τι[ν̣]α*, if that was the reading, must have been rather cramped.

12. *νων*: so rΘPMΔ; *νῶϊν* VA, *νῶιν* R Vat.

13. *τι [ο]υν*: *τίς οὖν* RV with the other MSS. according to Blaydes and Zacher. Bekker has *τί οὖν*, apparently by a misprint. The traces do not suit *τι[ς] ουν*, and there is not room for *τι[ς ο]υν*, but *τι* may well be a repetition from l. 11. Π agrees with RV, &c., in having no change of speaker after *γένοιτ' ἄν*. Most editors make a change and rearrange ll. 13–16.

14. *ινα μη*: so R Ald. Vat., edd.; *ἵνα σοι μή* VA, &c.

15. [αλλ]: so VA, &c., edd.; om. R. Editors, following Sauppe, generally invert the order of ll. 15–16; cf. l. 13, note.

1017. *εκελε]υ'*: *ἐκέλευσ'* RV, &c., edd., *ἐκέλευσεν* AΘ. Blaydes had conjectured *ἐκέλευ'*, comparing the imperfect *ἔφραζεν* in ll. 1042, 1048, and 1058. The *ν* is not absolutely certain, but *εκελευ]σ'* or *εκελευσε]ν'* cannot be read. In l. 1049 the MSS. vary between *ἐκέλευε* and *ἐκέλευσε*.

1058. *φρασ]σαι*: so most edd., following Brunck; *φράσαι* Rr^{2}M, *φράζευ* VAΘ, &c. The *σ* is somewhat smaller than would be expected, and there may have been a correction. The letter comes above the *π* of *πυλοιο*, but the other *σ* may have been omitted, at any rate originally.

1060. *φ]*[.]*ησιν*: *φησί* MSS., *φησίν* edd. The letter before *ησιν* was certainly not *φ*, but seems to have been deleted by the first hand, so that *φησίν* was probably meant.

1061. The deletion of the superfluous λ is apparently due to the first hand.

1062. This verse was rejected by Zacher.

1374. ARISTOPHANES, *Wasps*.

Fr. 1 17·7 × 12·8 cm. Fifth century.

Of the various fragments of Aristophanes found with **1369–70** (cf. **1371**. introd.) those of the *Wasps* are much the longest, portions of four leaves with more than 150 lines from the middle of the play being preserved. The script resembles that of **1371** and **1373**. Fr. 2, but is larger and more irregular. There are no corrections except one in l. 609 made by the scribe himself, and, save for occasional double dots to indicate a change of speaker, no stops; but apostrophes to mark elision, &c., besides diaereses and paragraphi, occur. The page-numbers 19[5] and 196 are found on Fr. 1. No column is completely preserved, but Col. i had forty-five lines if ll. 475–6 were arranged, as is probable, like

ll. 486–7, and Col. ii may have had the same number, while in Cols. iii–iv the number increases to forty-seven or forty-eight. The next leaf is lost, and since Col. vii is for the most part lyric there is some uncertainty concerning the division of lines, which seem to have exceeded forty-six. In the last three columns a slight increase is discernible, Col. ix at any rate having apparently forty-nine lines. The leaf containing Cols. ix and x (pp. 203–4) was turned so that the recto came first, whereas the verso would be expected to occupy this position and correspond to the verso in Col. viii. Since approximately 9,200 lines have to be accounted for before Col. i, the *Wasps* is likely to have been the seventh play in this MS., as in V; cf. **1373.** introd. In R it stood ninth, between the *Acharnians* and *Thesmophoriazusae*.

The text contains, as is usual in Byzantine literary fragments, a number of scribe's errors, but has several points of interest. The *Wasps*, like the *Knights*, is one of the plays in which V tends to disagree most with R, and the papyrus (Π), unlike **1372**, strongly supports the former (cf. ll. 449, 456, 506–7, 511, 568, 570, 573, 613, 621, 749, 790, and 806?), except where V has made an obvious mistake (ll. 571, 608, 756, 796, 825–6, 865, and 875), and in l. 612? As compared with R, V in this play seems to be distinctly superior. A slight correction of the MSS. in l. 576 by Brunck on metrical grounds and probably another in l. 790 by Bergk are verified, but in ll. 452, 487, 749, 795, 802, 808, and 816 traditional readings which have been suspected are confirmed. New readings also occur in ll. 499 and 795.

The small fragment **1403** seems to be in the same hand as **1374**, and its colour suggests that it belongs to Fr. 1, but we have not succeeded in identifying it.

Fr. 1 verso. Col. i.

ρϛ[ε

443 [πρ]ος βιαν χειρουσιν [ουδεν των παλαι μεμνημενοι
δε[ι]φθερω[ν καξωμιδων ας ουτος αυτοις ημπολα
445 και κυ[νας και τους ποδας χειμωνος οντος ωφελει
ωστε μ[η ριγων γ εκαστοτ αλλα τουτοις γ ουκ ενι
ουδ' εν [οφθαλμοισιν αιδως των παλαιων εμβαδων
ουκ αφη[σεις ουδε νυνι μ ω κακιστον θηριον
ουδ' ανα[μνησθεις οθ ευρων τους βοτρυς κλεπτοντα σε
450 [π]ροσαγα[γων προς την ελααν εξεδειρ ευ κανδρικως
[ω]στε σε ζ[ηλωτον ειναι συ δ αχαριστος ησθ αρα
αλλ' ανε[ς με και συ και συ πριν τον υιον εκδραμειν

αλλα τουτω[ν] μ̣ε̣ν̣ [ταχ ημιν δωσετον καλην δικην
ουκετ' εις μακραν [ιν ειδηθ οιος εστ ανδρων τροπος
οξυθυμων και δικα[ιων και βλεποντων καρδαμα
παιε παι' ω̣ Ξανθια τ[ους σφηκας απο της οικιας
αλλα δρ[ω] τουτ' αλ[λα και συ τυφε πολλω τω καπνω
ουχι σ[ουσ]θ' ουκ ε̣ι̣ς̣ [κορακας ουκ απιτε παιε τω ξυλω
και συ [πρ]οσθε̣[ις Αισχινην εντυφε τον Σελλαρτιου
αρ' εμ[ε]λλομεν [ποθ υμας αποσοβησειν τω χρονω
αλλα μα Δι' ου ρα[διως ουτως αν αυτους διεφυγες
εἰπ̣[ερ ε]τυχον τ̣[ων μελεων των Φιλοκλεους
βεβ[ρωκοτες
αρα [δητ ουκ αυτα δηλα
τ̣οι̣ς̣ [πενησιν η τυραννις
[ως λαθρα γ ελανθαν υπιουσα με]
ε̣[ι συ γ ω πονω πονηρε και κομηταμυνια
τ̣[ων νομων ημας απειργεις ων εθηκεν η πολις
. . . . . .

Fr. 1 recto. Col. ii.

ρϛ
ο]υδὲ ποτε γ' ουχ εως [ ]
αν] τι μου λοιπον ηι
οστις ημω]ν̣ επι τυρ[αννιδ]' εσταληις
[ως απανθ υμιν τυραννις εστι κ]αι ξυνωμοται
[ην τε μειζον ην τ ελαττον πρα]γμα τις κατηγορηι
[ης εγω ουκ ηκουσα τουνομ ουδ]ε πεντηκοντ' ετων
[νυν δε πολλωι του ταριχους εστι]ν αξιωτερα
[ωστε και δη τουνομ αυτης ε]ν αγοραι κυλινδεται
[ην μεν ωνηται τις ορφως μεμ]βραδας δε μη θεληι
[ευθεως ειρηχ ο πωλων πλησιο]ν τας μεμβραδας
[ουτος οψωνειν εοιχ ανθρωπος] επι τυραννιδι
[ην δε γητειον προσαιτη ταις α]φυαις ηδυσμα τι
[η λαχανοπωλις φησιν] παραβλεψασα θατερω
[ειπε μοι γητειον αιτε]ις ποτερον επι τυραννιδι

[η νομιζεις τας Αθην]ας σοι τρεφε[ι]ν ηδυσματα:
[καμε γ η πορνη χθε]ς εισελθο[ν]τα της μεσημβριας
[οτι κελητισαι κελευον] οξ[υθ]υμ[ηθ]εισα μοι
[ηρετ ει την Ιππιου καθισ]τ̣α̣μ̣[αι] τυραννιδα:
[ταυτα γαρ τουτοις ακο]υ̣[ειν ηδε ε]ι και νυν εγω
[τον πατερ οτι βουλομαι] τουτω[ν] απαλλαχθεντα των
[ορθοφοιτοσυκοφαντοδικο]ταλαιπωρων τροπων
[ζην βιον γενναιον ωσπ]ερ Μορυχ[ος] αιτιαν εχω
[ταυτα δραν ξυνωμοτης] ων και φρ[ον]ων τυραννικα
[νη Δι εν δικηι γ εγω γαρ ο]υδεν ορνι[θων γ]αλα
[αντι του βιου λαβοιμ αν ο]υ με ν[υν αποστ]ερης
[ουδε χαιρω βατισιν ουδ εγχελεσιν αλλ η]δ̣ι̣ο̣παν
[δικιδιον σμικρον φαγοιμ αν εν λοπαδι] πεπνιγμενον
[νη Δι ειθισθης γαρ ηδεσθαι τοιουτοις πρ]αγμασ[ι]υ̣ [
[αλλ εαν σιγων ανασχηι και μαθηις αγω λεγ]ω̣ [
. . . . . .

Fr. 2 recto. Col. iii.

. . . . . .
ας εμ [ουδ αν ζωντ ηδειν ει μη δια την προτεραν αποφυξιν
τουτι π[ε]ρ[ι τ]ων α[ντιβολουντων εστω το μνημοσυνον μοι
ει γ' εισελθων αν[τιβοληθεις και την οργην απομορχθεις
ενδον τουτων ων̣ [αν φασκω παντων ουδεν πεποιηκα
αλλ' ακροωμαι πασ[ας φωνας ιεντων εις αποφυξιν
φερ' ϊδω τι γαρ ουκ [εστιν] α̣[κουσαι θωπευμ ενταυθα δικαστη
οι μεν γ' αποκλοιον̣[τ]α̣ι πεν[ιαν αυτων και προστιθεασι
κακο προς τοις ουσιν εως α[νιων αν ισωση τοισιν εμοισιν
οι δε λεγουσι μυθους ημιν οι δ Α̣ι̣[σωπου τι γελοιον
οι δε σκ[ω]πτουσ' ϊν εγω γελασω και [τον θυμον καταθωμαι
καν μ[η το]υτοις αναπειθωμεσθα τ[α παιδαρι ευθυς ανελκει
τας θηλ[ει]ας και τους υ[ι]εις τη[ς χειρος εγω δ ακροωμαι
τα δε συ[γ]κηψαντ' αποβληχ[αται καπειθ ο πατηρ υπερ αυτων
ωσπερ θεον αντιβολει με τρ[εμων της ευθυνης απολυσαι
ει μεν χα[ι]ρ̣ει̣ς̣ α[ρν]ος φωνη [παιδος φωνην ελεησαις

ει δ' αυ το[ις] χοιρ[ιδι]οις χαιρω [θυγατρος φωνη με πιθεσθαι
χἠμε[ις αυ]τω τ[οτε] της οργης [ολιγον τον κολλοπ ανειμεν
575 αρ' ου [μεγ]αλη τ[ουτ]' εστ' αρχη [και του πλουτου καταχηνη
δευτ[ερον αυ σου το]υ̣τι γραφο[μαι την του πλουτου καταχηνην
[και ταγαθα μοι μεμνησ] ᾰχ[εις φασκων της Ελλαδος αρχειν
. . . . . .

Fr. 2 verso. Col. iv.

. . . . . .
607 [ασπαζωνται δια ταργυριον και πρωτα] μεν η [θυγατ]ηρ μεν
[απονιζη και τω ποδ αλειφη και προ]σκυψασα φιλησε
[και παππιζουσ αμα τη γλωσση το] τριωβολον κκαλαματα
610 [και το γυναιον μ υποθωπευσαν] φυστην μαζαν πρ[ο]σενεγκει
[καπειτα καθεζομενη] παρ εμ[οι π]ροσαναγκαζη φαγε τουτι
[εντραγε τουτι τοισι]ν εγω γᾰ[ν]υ̣μαι και μη με δεησης
[ες σε βλεψαι και τον τ]αμιαν οποτ' αριστον παραθησει
[καταρασαμενο]ς και τονθορυσας αλλ' ην μη μοι ταχυ μαξηι
615 [ταδε κεκτημαι π]ροβλημα κακων σκευην βε[λ]εων αλεωρην
[καν οινον μοι μη γχ]ῑ̣ς συ πιει̣ν τον ονον το[νδ]' εσκεκομισμαι
[οινου μεστον κατ εγχ]εομαι κλινας ουτο[ς δ]ε κεχηνως
[βρωμησαμενος του σο]υ δινου μ[ε]γα και στρ[α]τιον κατεπαρδεν
619-20 [αρ ου μεγαλην αρχην α]ρχω και τ[ο]υ Διους ο[υ]δεν ελατ'τω
621 [οστι]ς ακουω τᾰ[υ]θ' απερ ο [Ζε]υς
[ην γ]ουν ημει[ς θο]ρυβη[σ]ωμεν
[πας] τις φησιν [των] παρι[ο]ν̣[τ]ω̣ν̣
[οιο]ν βρονται τ[ο δι]καστ[ηριο]ν
625 [ω Ζε]υ βασι[λ]ευ [ ]
[κα]ν̣ ᾰσ̣[τραψω ποππυζουσιν
. . . . . .

Fr. 3 recto. Col. vii.

. . . . . .
746 [α σου κελευοντο]ς ουκ' επ[ειθετο
747 [νυν δ ισως τοισ]ι̣ σ̣οις

[λογοις πειθεται]
748 [και σωφρονει με]ντοι μεθι
[στας ες το λο]ιπον τ̣[ο]ν̣ τροπον
749 [πειθομ]ενος τε σοι
[ιω μοι μο]ι̣
ουτος τι βοας
750 [μη μο]ι̣ τουτων μηδεν υπισχ[νου
κεινων εραμαι κειθ[ι γενοιμαν
ϊν ο κηρυξ̣ φησις τ[ις αψηφι
στος ανιστασθω [
καπισταιη̣[ν επι τοις κημοις
755 ψηφιζομ̣[ενων ο τελευταιος
σπευδ' ω [ψυχη που μοι ψυχη·
παρες [ω σκιερα μα τον Ηρακλεα
μη νυ[ν ετ εγω ν τοισι δικασταις
κλεπτ[οντα Κλεωνα λαβοιμι
760 [ιθ ω π]ατερ π̣ρ̣ο̣[ς των θεων εμοι πιθου

. . . . . .

Fr. 3 verso. Col. viii.

790 [καπειτ] ε̣ν̣ε̣θ̣[ηκε τρεις λοπιδας μοι κεστρεων
[καγ]ω̣ νεκαψ οβ[ολους γαρ ωομην λαβειν
[κατ]α βδελυχθε[ις οσφρομενος εξεπτυσα
[καθ] ειλκον αυτο[ν ο δε τι προς ταυτ ειφ ο τι
[αλε]κτρυονο[ς] μ̣ [ε]φ̣[ασ]κ̣[ε κοιλιαν εχειν
795 [ταχ]ι̣ν γουν καθεψεις γ' αργ[υριον η δ ος λεγων
[ορας οσ]ον και τουτο δητα [κ]ε̣ρ̣[δανεις
[ου πανυ τ]ι̣ μικρον αλλ' οπερ μελλει[ς ποιει
[αναμενε ν]υν εγω δε ταυθ' ηξω φ[ε]ρ̣ω̣[ν
[ορα το χρημα τα] λογι' ως περαινεται
800 [ηκηκοειν γαρ ως Α]θηναιοι ποτε
[δικασοιεν επι ταις οι]κειαισι τας δικας [
[καν τοις προθυροις ενοι]κοδομησει π[ας ανηρ
[αυτω δικαστηριδιον μ]ικρον πανυ

[ωσπερ Εκαταιον παντα]χου προ των θυρων [
[ιδου τι ετ ερεις ως απαντ] εγω φερω
[οσαπερ εφασκον κατι πολλ]ωι πλειονα
[αμις μεν ην ουρητιασης αυ]τηι
[παρα σοι κρεμησετ εγγυς ε]πι [του πατταλου
. . . . . .

Frs. 4 and 5 recto. Col. ix.

[αυτου με]νων [γαρ την φακην ροφησομαι
[αταρ τι τ]ον ορ[νιν ως εμ εξηνεγκατε
[ινα γ η]ν καθε[υδης απολογουμενου τινος
[αδων α]νωθε[ν εξεγειρη σ ουτοσι
[εν ετι πο]θω τα δ' [αλλ αρεσκει μοι το τι
[θηρωον] ει πως ε[κκομισαις το του Λυκου
5 lines lost.
[καλουν καλει νυν ως καθημ εγω παλαι
φ[ερε νυν τιν αυτω πρωτον εισαγαγω δικην
τ[ι τις κακον δεδρακε των εν τωκια
η [Θραττα προσκαυσασα πρωην την χυτραν
ε[πισχες ουτος ως ολιγου μ απωλεσας
α[νευ δρυφακτου την δικην μελλεις καλειν
. . . . . .

Frs. 4 and 5 verso. Col. x.

. . . . . .
[και μην ημεις επι] ταις [σπονδαις
[και ταις ευχαις]
[φημην αγαθην λεξο]μεν υμ[ιν
[οτι γενναιως εκ του π]ολεμο[υ
[και του νεικους ξυ]νεβητο[ν
[ευφημια μεν πρωτα νυν] υπαρχ[ετω
[ω Φοιβ Απολλον Πυθι επ αγ]αθῃ τ[υχη
5 lines lost.
[ω δεσποτ αναξ γειτον αγυιευ τουμου προθυ]ρο[υ προσπυλας
[δεξαι τελετην καινην ωναξ ην τω πατρι και]νοτομο[υμεν

[παυσον τ αυτου τουτο το λιαν στρυφνον και] πρινινο[ν ηθος
[αντι σιραιου μελιτος μικρον τω θυμιδιω παρα]μιξας
. . . . . .

444. δε[ι̣]φθερω[ν, or perhaps [δ]ιαφθερω[ν, is for διφθερων.
449. ουδ᾽: so V, &c., edd.; οὔτ᾽ R.
452. ανε[ς: so MSS., H(all)–G(eldart); ἄφες Cobet.
453. τουτω[ν]: so MSS. and most edd. The v. l. τούτω is implied by the scholia.
454. εις: ἐς RV, edd.
456. παιε: so Vr, &c., edd.; παῦε R.
459. The MSS. assign this line not to the speaker of l. 458 (Sosias), but to a different person (οἰκέτης R, Xanthias V), and generally give l. 460 to him also (so most edd.). R, however, supports Π in marking a new speaker after l. 459. Π probably assigned ll. 458–9 to Bdelycleon, 460 to Xanthias or Sosias; Bergk gave l. 456 to Sosias, 457–9 to Bdelycleon, 460 to Xanthias.
462. βεβ[ρωκοτες which belongs to this verse was put in a line by itself, perhaps for want of space.
465. This line, which would be expected to correspond to the two preceding, is corrupt in the MSS.
486–7. Π agrees with RV in its division of these lines. There is no room before εσταληις for ωδ᾽ which is commonly inserted on metrical grounds (cf. l. 429) by editors, following Hermann.
496. ταις α]φναις: it is uncertain whether Π had ταις (so MSS., Starkie, H–G) or τις (Brunck on metrical grounds), especially as προσαιτη may have had an iota adscript.
497. φησιν] παραβλεψασα: παραβλέψασά φησι MSS., rightly.
499. τρεφε[ι]ν: φέρειν MSS. The remark of schol. V φησὶν ὅτι διὰ σὲ φύουσιν αἱ Ἀθῆναι ἡδύσματα would apply to τρέφειν even better than to φέρειν, which connotes the idea of paying besides that of bearing.
505. The restoration gives 22 letters in the lacuna where the lines above and below have 18 or 19, so that Π probably did not have the correct spelling of the scholia ορθρο-: ὀρθο- R, &c., ὀρθοσ- V. Possibly δικο was omitted.
506. εχω: so V, &c., edd.; ἔχων R.
507. τυραννικα: so V Suidas and most edd.; τυραννίδα R, &c. There are no double dots at the end of this line or of l. 511.
508. ο]υδεν: οὐδ᾽ ἄν MSS., rightly. The repetition of ἄν seems to have caused a difficulty, as in l. 510.
509. αποστ]ερης: l. αποστ]ερεις with the MSS.
510. η]διοπαν is an error for ηδιον αν: cf. note on l. 508.
511. πεπνιγμενον: so V, &c., edd.; πεπηγμένον R.
558. ας: ὅς V, &c., edd., ὡς R.
560. ει γ᾽: εἶτ᾽ MSS., rightly; cf. l. 795, note. Paragraphi are omitted before this line and l. 576.
564. αποκλοιον[τ]αι or αποκλοιον[.]τ[α]ι can be read; ἀποκλαίονται RV, ἀποκλάονται BC, edd.
565. This verse is corrupt in the MSS., which have κακὰ (κακά γε B Ald.) πρὸς τοῖς (τοῖσιν B Ald.) οὖσιν ἕως ἂν ἰσώσῃ (ἕως ἀνιῶν ἀνισώσῃ V) τοῖσιν ἐμοῖσιν. Π is corrupt in having κακο for κακα and may have omitted ανιων like RBC. Meineke proposed κακὰ πρὸς τοῖς οὖσι ⟨κακοῖσι⟩ν ἕως ἂν ἰσ. τ. ἐμ., Starkie κα. π. τ. οὖσιν ἕως ἂν ⟨δή τις⟩ ἰσώσῃ τ. ἐμ.
566. λεγουσι: so VBC; l. λέγουσιν with R.
568. αναπειθωμεσθα: so VBC and most edd.; ἀναπειθώμεθα R.

570. συ̣[γ]κηψαντ' is for συ[γ]κυψαντ' (so RV and most edd.); συγκυπτοντ' BC Ald.

αποβληχ[αται: so V; ἅμ ἅμα βληχᾶται R, ἀμβληχᾶται Bergk, ἅμα βρυχᾶται Van Leeuwen, ἅμα βληχᾶται BC and most edd.

571. θεον: so RBC, edd.; θεός V.

573. χοιρ[ιδι]οις: so VBC, edd.; χοιρίοις R.

576. γραφο[μαι: so Brunck; γράψομαι MSS. against the metre (V has the line in the margin).

577. Either αχ[εις (BC, edd.) or αχ[ρις (RV) may be restored. This line and l. 626 may be the last of the columns.

607. μεν: ε was written with a long middle stroke as if it were originally the last letter of the line, and ν seems to have been added by the first hand later. με MSS., rightly.

608. προ]σκυψασα: so RBC, edd.; προσκύσασα V. Richter's emendation φιλῇ με for φιλήσῃ, accepted by Van Leeuwen, is not confirmed.

609. εκκαλαματα: l. -τα⟨ι⟩. Π may have omitted τα (added by Flor. Christianus) like the MSS.

612. τοισι]ν: so RB Ald.; τοῖσι C, τούτοισιν V, edd. It is not quite certain that Π had the unmetrical reading here, but 17 or 18 letters would be expected in the lacuna and τουτοισι]ν would require 20.

και μη με δεησης: καὶ μή με δεήσῃ (or δεήσῃ) MSS., κεἰ μή με δεήσει Elmsley, Blaydes, κοὐ μή με δεήσῃ H–G following Dobree.

613. παραθησει: so VBC, edd.; παραθήσῃ with ει suprascr. R.

614. αλλ' ην: so Γ (ἀλλ' ἦν) edd.; ἄλλην RVBC. Meineke thought that there was a lacuna after this line, rejecting ll. 615–18.

619–20. Π agrees with RVΓ in combining these two lines into one, which is uniform with those preceding, and in omitting της before τον. BC Ald., reading τῆς τοῦ Διός, make two lines corresponding to those following. For Διους l. Διος.

621. απερ: so VB Ald., edd.; ὥσπερ R, ὅσπερ C.

623. φησιν: so R, correctly; φησί VBC.

624. τ[ο δι]καστ[ηριο]ν: so RVC, edd.; τὰ δικαστήρια B.

746. The ο of ουκ is above the ο of σοις in the next line, and it is not certain whether Π read ἅ with RBC and edd. (om. V), but there is no room for παρακελεύοντος (B Ald.). The metre of this antistrophe is not at all clear. ἅ σου does not correspond to εἶναι in l. 732, and cf. note on l. 749. Editors divide ll. 743–9 in several ways; Π's arrangement agrees with that of RV.

749. [πειθομ]ενος: so MSS.; πιθόμενος most edd., following Brunck, who wished to make this verse correspond to l. 736 σὺ δὲ παρὼν δέχου. [πιθομ]ενος is too short for the lacuna, and the emendation of this chorus on metrical grounds is insecure; cf. l. 746, note.

τι βοας: so V and most edd.; τί μοι βοᾷς RBC.

752. φησις: φησι MSS., rightly, except R which has the unmetrical φησιν.

756. σπευδ': so RBC, edd.; σπεύδ' V.

790. καπειτ]ενεθ[ηκε: κἄπειτ' ἐπέθηκε RBC Ald., Starkie; κἄπειθεν ἔθηκεν V, κἄπειτ' ἐνέθηκε Bergk, whose emendation may well have been confirmed, H–G.

795. καθεψεις: so H–G with the MSS.; κατέψεις Suidas, καταπέψεις Hirschig, καταπέττεις Van Leeuwen.

γ' αργυριον: τἀργύριον MSS., Starkie, H–G, ἀργύριον Brunck. The article is unnecessary, but defensible as generic, and with γοῦν in the same line γ' is also superfluous; cf. ει γ' for ειτ' in l. 560.

796. οσ]ον . . . δητα: so RBC, edd.; ος ὅσον . . . om. δῆτα V.

798. There is a blank space after ν]υι, but apparently no stop. Reiske wished to alter ταῦθ' to πάνθ'.

801. οι]κειαισι : l. οι]κιαισι.

802. Either ενοι]κοδομησει (VBC) or ανοι]κοδομησει (R, &c.) can be restored. Editors alter to ενοικοδομησοι, following Dobree.

806. [οσαπερ : so Vr, H–G ; οσαπερ γ' (RBC) is less likely, for there are already 21 letters in the space which is filled by 20 in the line above and by 21 in the line below.

808. ε]πι : so MSS. Some editors wish to read ἐκ or ἀπό, but cf. Starkie's note.

816. [ινα γ η]ν : so MSS., Starkie, H–G ; [ιν η]ν (Cobet) is too short.

825–6. V omits these two verses owing to homoioteleuton.

865. The size of the lacuna suits λεξομεν (RBC, edd.) better than εξομεν (V).

867. ξυ]νεβητο[ν : so MSS. ; ξυνεβήτην H–G with many editors, following Elmsley, but cf. Starkie's note.

875. προθυ]ρο[υ : so RBC, edd. ; προυπύλου V. π]ρο[υπυλου would not suit the length of the lacuna. For the unmetrical προσπύλας of the MSS. Bentley proposed προπύλαιε.

878. Below]μιξας there is a blank space of three lines, ll. 879 sqq. being divided into short lines, as in RV.

1375. HERODOTUS vii.

15·5 × 12·3 cm. Early second century.

The upper parts of two columns, written in carefully formed round uncials of medium size. Although smaller in scale there is a close resemblance between this hand and that of the well-known Bodleian Homer (cf. Kenyon, *Palaeogr.* Plate 20) ; it is also similar in style to **1362**, though probably of a somewhat later date and more appropriately assigned to the second century than the first. A correction in Col. ii. 5 seems to be due to the original scribe, who may also be responsible for the punctuation by means of high dots in combination with paragraphi. A deep margin (7·5 cm.) was left at the top of the columns.

In the text of the papyrus the chief point of interest is its failure to confirm suggested editorial excisions. Two unsupported variants (i. 6–8, 10) are of no importance. This is the sixth Herodotus fragment from Oxyrhynchus ; cf. H. G. Viljoen, *Herodoti fragmenta in papyris servata.*

Col. i.

μιλκαν Καρχη § 166
δονιον εοντα>
προς πατρος μη
τροθεν δε Συρη
κοσιον βασιλευ
σαντα τε Καρχη
[δ]ονιων κατ αν
δραγ[α]θιην ως η

Col. ii.

τοισι Ελ[λησι εν § 167
τηι Σ[ι]κελ[ι]η[ι εμα
χοντο εξ ηο[υς αρ
ξαμενοι μεχ[ρι
δει[[τ]]ης οψιη[ς ε
πι τοσουτο γα[ρ λε
γετ[α]ι ελκυσαι [την

συμβολη τε εγει
νετο και ησσω
το τηι μαχηι α›
φανισθηναι πυν
θανομαι· ουτε›
γαρ ζωντα ουτε α
[ποθανοντα
. . . . .

[σ]υστασιν· ο δ Αμ[ιλ
κας εν τουτωι [›
τωι χρονωι μ[ε
νων εν τωι [στρα
τοπεδωι εθυε[το
και εκαλλιερε[ετο
επι πυρης με[γα
[λης σ]ωματα ο[λα
. . . . .

i. 6–8. Καρχη[δ]ονιων κατ ανδραγ[α]θιην : κατ' ἀνδραγ. Καρχ. MSS.
9. εγεινετο : S has ἐγένετο.
10. ησσωτο : ὡς ἐσσοῦτο MSS.
ii. 1. 2. ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ is omitted by P*RSV and bracketed by Hude.
6. τοσουτο : τοσοῦτον RSV.
λε]γετ[α]ι : RSV have λέγειν. Cobet wished to omit the verb altogether.
12–13. The papyrus agrees with the MSS. in reading ἐθύετο καί which was bracketed by Hude after Abicht.

1376. THUCYDIDES vii.

Height 31·8 cm. Late second or early third century. Plate III (Col. iv, ll. 155–165).

These considerable portions of the last third of a roll containing the seventh book of Thucydides belong to the large find of classical texts which produced **841–4, 852–3, 1012, 1016–17,** &c. The papyrus (Π) when discovered consisted of about 200 fragments, of which more than three-quarters have been identified. Excluding the small unplaced scraps, twenty columns, nearly all much damaged, are preserved, divided into three sections separated by gaps. The first, Cols. i–xiii, contains cc. 54–68. 2, after which there are six columns lost; the second section, Cols. xx–i, follows, containing 72. 1–73. 3; then comes another gap of six columns and finally the third section, Cols. xxviii–xxxi, containing 78. 5–82. 3, five or six columns more being required to finish the book. The hand is an elegant medium-sized uncial, resembling **1012** (Part VII, Plate iv) which was written between A. D. 205 and 250, and probably belongs to the early part of the third century or even the end of the second. The columns are tall, vii–viii having 53 lines, i, v, x, xi, xii, xiii 52, ii–iv, vi, ix 51, xxviii–xxxi 50, xxxii at least 49, xxi 48, xx 47. The lines are not very even and range from 15 to

23 letters, with an average of a little over 19. Their beginnings tend to slope away to the left as the columns proceed, giving the latter a considerable slant to the right. The common angular sign for filling up short lines is sparingly used, and final *ν* is occasionally represented by a horizontal stroke, at any rate in the later columns. Punctuation is indicated by high stops, marginal paragraphi, and sometimes by short blank spaces, but there are no breathings or accents, and diaereses are scarce. Iota adscript is rarely omitted in the first section, but frequently in the second and third. A few alterations have been made by the scribe himself (ll. 157 and 338), and corrections or alternative readings have been inserted here and there in two different hands, which are probably but little later than that of the main text (Π^2 ll. 356, 491, 551, 931, 956, 968; Π^3 407, 705). Uncorrected slips occur in l. 234 and perhaps in l. 638.

Π is in several respects the most important papyrus of Thucydides that has yet been found. While not possessing either the antiquity of the first-century fragments of Book iv (16 + 696) or the intrinsic merits of that unusually elaborate and careful copy, it is not only much the longest Thucydides papyrus extant but presents a good text, above the level of the average literary papyri of the same period, and moreover comes from a book in which the textual problems are exceptionally numerous and interesting. The seven chief MSS. form two groups, headed respectively by C, the tenth-century Laurentianus, and B, the eleventh-century Vaticanus. C is supported by G, the Monacensis (thirteenth century), which is sometimes defective, and B by A, the Cisalpinus (eleventh or twelfth century), E, the Palatinus, F, the Augustanus, and M, the Britannicus (all eleventh century), the last usually approximating to a middle position, although in the chapters covered by Π M exhibits more affinity to AEF than to CG. From vi. 92 to the end a disturbing element is introduced by the fact that B (supported up to vii. 50 by the fifteenth-century Parisinus 1734) branches off from the rest to such an extent that it is now generally supposed to represent a different recension, due to a sagacious but arbitrary grammarian, and Wilamowitz has proposed to identify this with an edition of Thucydides in thirteen books mentioned by Marcellinus. The ABEFM group was considered superior to CG by the older editors, who were imperfectly acquainted with C, but since the publication of Hude's text, which is based primarily on CG, the position has been reversed and the reputation of B has declined. As the divergences between B and C, particularly in vi. 92–viii, constitute the chief problem in the textual criticism of Thucydides, we preface a detailed classification of Π's readings with a summary of the evidence of extant papyri, showing the number of their agreements with C against B and vice versa and of their new readings, but disregarding

minor points such as *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*, in the neglect of which Π resembles C. P. Giessen 12 is published by F. Fischer in *Thucyd. reliquiae in papyris et membranis Aeg. servatae*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 27 sqq.; P. Wess. by C. Wessely in *Wiener Stud.* vii; the others are all from Oxyrhynchus, the small pieces **17**, **451–3**, and P. Geneva 257 being omitted.

1245	i. 139–41	4th cent.	with C	3	with B	0	new 5
853	extracts from ii. 1–45	late 2nd	„	3	„	7	„ 12
878[1]	ii. 22–5	late 1st	„	1	„	1	„ 2
P. Giessen 12	ii. 59–60	4th or 5th	„	1	„	2	„ 0
225	ii. 90–1	1st	„	3	„	0	„ 1
879[1]	iii. 58–9	3rd	„	1	„	1	„ 0
16 + 696	iv. 28–41	1st	„	4	„	1	„ 29
880[1]	v. 32–4, 40, 96–8, 103–5, 111	late 2nd	„	2	„	0	„ 10
1180	v. 60–3	3rd	„	0	„	0	„ 5
1246	vii. 38	early 2nd	„	0	„	1	„ 0
1247	viii. 8–11	2nd	„	2	„	4	„ 4
P. Wess.	viii. 92	7th	„	5	„	3	„ 8

The best text is given by **853**, **225**, **16 + 696**, and **1247**, several of the others having been carelessly written, while P. Giessen 12, **225**, and **1246** are too short to show much of their real character. Of the four best the two first-century specimens tend to uphold C, the two second-century ones B, which in the parts covered by **853** is supported by AEFM, but not in those covered by **1247**. The balance is on the whole slightly in favour of C before vi. 92, and in favour of B after that point. That the MSS. of Thucydides are in the main sound, but have deteriorated since the third century in a number of small points is indicated by some of the new readings, especially in **16 + 696**.

The instances in which Π's readings affect differences between the seven principal MSS. are classified as follows, so as to bring into prominence its relations to C and B, whether alone or in combination with AEFM, which in this book are nearer to C than to B.

With C	against	ABEFGM	2	ll. 23, 45, right.
„ C	„	ABEFM	1	66, wrong.
„ CG	„	ABEFM	1	58, right.
„ CE	„	ABFGM	1 (2?)	616?, 712, doubtful.
„ ACF	„	BEGM	1	625, doubtful.
„ CGM	„	ABEF	1	705, wrong, but corrected.

[1] **878**. 47 *τωι τειχει* agrees with ABEFGM against C (*τῷ τε τείχει*), **879**. 33 *δε* with ACEFGM against B (om.), and **880**. 82 *σαφως* with ACEFGM against B (om.).

With CEFG	against	ABM	1	444, right.
„ ACEFG	„	BM	1	144, doubtful.
„ ACEFM	„	B	1	157, right.
„ ACEFMB *γρ.*	„	B	1	725, doubtful.
„ ACEFGM	„	B	21 (22?)	9, 49, 64, 99, 125, 195, 447, 495, 552, 570, 683, 723, 734, 739, 852, 881, 943, 951, right; 122, 432?, 792, wrong; 186, doubtful.
With B	against	ACEFGM	20 (21?)	22, 133, 175, 190, 277, 430, 602–4, 611, 702, 909, 961, right; 14, 732–3, 948, wrong; 85, 150, 197, 562, 691, 911?, 956, doubtful.

With B (suprascr.) E	against	ABCFM	1	ll. 94, right.
„ BG	„	ACEFM	1	406, wrong.
„ BEM	„	ACFG	1	699, right.
„ BFM	„	ACE	1	508, right.
„ ABEFM	„	CG	1	963, right.
„ ABEFM	„	C	2	162, 350, right.
„ ABEFGM	„	C	7	122, 234, 236, 633, 652, 959, right; 164, doubtful.
„ BCG	„	AEFM	1	720, right.
„ BCGM	„	AEF	1	442, right.
„ BCEGM	„	AF	2	235, 487, right.
„ BCEFM	„	AB *γρ.*	1	724, right.
„ ABCEFG	„	M	10	72–4, 121, 186, 496, 549, 720, 758, 782, 950, 967, right.
„ ABCFGM	„	E	3	72, 146–7, 487, right.
„ ABCEGM	„	F	1	91, right.
„ BCEFGM	„	A	1	405, right.
„ ABCEFM	„	G	4	77, 93, 149, 425, right.
„ EF	„	ABCGM	1	184, wrong.

From this table several conclusions follow. In the first place Π occupies a position almost exactly midway between B and C. Out of 69 passages in which these two MSS. are at variance Π agrees with C 32 (34?) times, with B 34 (35?) times in spite of the fact that in no less than 45 of these passages B stands alone, while C stands by itself only 12 times, being twice supported by G alone, and 55 times by one or more of AEFM. Where B is unsupported, Π agrees with it 20 (21?) times against 23 (24?) disagreements; where C is alone, it agrees with Π 3 times out of 12, and CG are supported by Π in 1 out of 2 instances. The text of B is therefore no longer isolated; it is practically as close to Π as is that

of C, its chief opponent, and closer to Π than are A or M. Out of the whole 94 passages in which the seven chief MSS. differ, Π agrees with E 58 (60?) times, B 57 (59?), F 57 (58?), C 56 (58?), and M 49 (50?), and with G 52 (53?) times out of 86 passages, so that the nearest MS. to Π is not a leader of either of the two families but E, and F is on the same level as B. E and F have very few distinctive readings: out of 6 cases in which E and 6 in which F differs from BC Π supports E twice (once with B suprascr.) and F once. Neither G nor A nor M obtains any assistance for their peculiar readings from Π, which agrees with BC against them 4, 6, and 11 times respectively.

From the point of view of quantity of agreements Π thus does not consistently support one MS. against the rest. C or CG when unsupported by some or all of AEFM are confirmed in less than a third of the instances. But nearly half of B's numerous peculiar readings in the chapters covered by Π are now shown to have been in existence in the second or third century, and the tendency of papyri, which was already traceable in **1246–7** and to a less extent in P. Wess. (cf. p. 157), to support B in vi. 92–viii was clearly no exceptional phenomenon. Since C and B are equidistant from Π, and there is no question of the text of C ever having been specially edited, it becomes doubtful whether that hypothesis is necessary in the case of B. An examination of the quality of the distinctive readings of B in relation to Π seems to us to favour the view that the special excellences and defects of B in the later books are due to its being derived, like C, from a text which is not far removed from that of Π, but into which a number of variations, chiefly errors, have been introduced in the intervening eight or nine centuries. Of the 19 (21?) readings in which B alone is supported by Π there are two clear cases of omission in ACEFGM owing to homoioteleuton (ll. 190 and 602–4); in ll. 22, 133, 175, 430, and 611 ACEFGM are clearly corrupt, while B's readings, which have been suspected of being due to an editor, are satisfactory, and in view of Π's confirmation can be accepted without demur; in l. 909 certainly and probably in l. 961 ACEFGM have made mistakes owing to dittography; in ll. 277 and 702 trifling additions are found in B, the omission of which may well be explained as slips. In all these 11 cases ΠB are certainly or probably right against the other MSS. The instances in which ΠB's reading is probably wrong confine themselves to two apparent examples of the confusion of ἤδη with δή (ll. 14 and 948; cf. l. 19, where Π is right and all the MSS. wrong on this point), and πεπαυμένους for ἀναπεπαυμένους in ll. 732–3. The remaining 7 cases, about which there is some doubt whether, as in the editions of Hude and Stuart Jones, they should be rejected or, as we should in the light of the new evidence prefer, be accepted, are small omissions or insertions (l. 85 om. δή, 150 ἐπέφερον for ἔφερον, 691 om. εἰσί, 911 add. τῆς?) or

slight changes in the order of words (ll. 197 and 562), and σωτήριον as a v. l. for σωτηρίαν (l. 956). In any case they postulate only a trifling error on the part of either ΠB or, as is, we think, more likely, of ACEFGM. That the latter group combines to make some very serious mistakes is quite clear from their omissions owing to homoioteleuton, where B is proved by Π to have preserved the right text. C, when alone, contributes hardly anything of value in the chapters covered by Π; for in l. 45 κωλύσουσι for κωλύσωσι after ὅπως, though probably right, is trivial, the omissions of ὑπό in l. 66, καί in 122 and 350, and ἠσυχαζόντων in 236, the insertions of οἱ in 164 and 234, the substitution of καταργόμενοι for κατειργόμενοι in 162, ἐσόμεναι for ἔσονται in 633, ἀταξία for ἀταξίαν in 652, and ἀναγκάζωνται for ἀναγκάζονται in 959 are, for the most part at least, obvious slips. Lines 22–3 afford a good illustration of the nature of corruptions which have arisen in Thucydides' MSS. between the third and tenth century. C has there ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ μεγέθη ἐχούσαις, B ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ μεγέθει ἐχούσαις, AEFM ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ μεγέθει ἐχούσαις. The emendation of Duker ἰσχυούσαις for ἐχούσαις would account for the datives, but Π, which apparently had ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ μεγέθη ἐχούσαις, is probably correct in spite of the simplicity of this reading, and the datives are to be regarded as errors which are less advanced in B and C than in the other MSS.

On the other hand, while the frequent and judicious support lent to B is one of the chief features of Π and cannot fail to increase the respect due to that MS. in vi. 92–viii, the superiority of Π's text to that of B, as to that of any other MS. of Thucydides, is shown by its slightly more frequent and not less judicious agreements with ACEFGM against B. Out of 23 (24?) of these (G is defective in a few cases) there are only two cases (122 Τήνιοι for Τήιοι and 792 ἑκατέρωθεν for ἑκάτεροι), and possibly a third (432 ᾧπερ δή for ᾧπερ), in which there are strong reasons for considering B superior to ΠACEFGM. In 725 (διαλαβόντας for προφθάσαντας) Π's support of the ordinary reading is confirmed by the removal of the repetition of προφθάνειν in 751 (φθάσωσι Π). The omission of γάρ, which is inserted by B in 186, is quite defensible, and the changes in the order effected by B in 83–4, 125, and 552 have nothing special to recommend them. The following readings of B, 49 om. τά, 99 ἕκαστοι for ἑκάστοις, 195 λειπομένους for ἀεὶ πολεμίους, 683 ἐβούλοντο for ἐβουλεύοντο, 723 τά for τάς, 739 τετάφθαι for τετράφθαι, 852 τρεψόμεναι for τρεψάμενοι, 881 om. μέρος, 943 τε for τότε, are merely due to slips of a copyist and are naturally absent from Π, while the rest of B's peculiar readings, 9 om. καί, 157 δέ (rejected by Π) for τε, 447 ἐσομένης for οὔσης, 495 om. καί, 570 ἔπειτα δέ for ἔπειτα, 734 Ἡράκλεια for αὐτοῖς Ἡρακλεῖ, 951 ἑκατὸν καί for καί, though requiring consideration as probably ancient variants, have not found favour with recent editors, whose judgement in selecting from B's variants

is generally confirmed by Π's evidence, as also in the less numerous cases where AEFGM are divided between B and C. Of these instances ΠCG are undoubtedly right against ABEFM in l. 58 (*φόβου* against *φόβωι*, a copyist's error), and ΠCEFG against ABM in 444 (*φαίνεται* against *φαίνηται* which is due to a confusion of *ἐᾶν* with *ἐάν*). That Π is also right in supporting ACEFG against BM in l. 144 (*κατὰ ἔχθος*, omitting *τό*), CE against ABFGM in 616 (om. *καί*) and 712 (*ἀποχωρήσασα* against *ὑποχωρήσασα*) is more questionable, but still, as we think, probable; in an apparent but not quite certain agreement with ACF against BEGM in 625 either reading may be correct. On the other hand Π naturally supports B (suprascr.) E in 94 *ξυνδιασώσοντες* (*ξυνδιασώσαντες* ABCFM by a slip), BEM in 699 *αὐτῶν* (*αὐτόν* ACFG, also a slip), ABEF in 705 *ἀναχωρήσοντες* (*ἀναχωρήσαντες* CGM, a dittography from the following *ξύμπαντες*, also found in Π but corrected by Π^2), and ABEFM in 963 *αὐτῷ πρώτῳ* (om. *πρώτῳ* CG). The agreement with BFM against CE in 508 as to the form *πλευσομένους* against *πλευσουμένους* is trivial, and Π has made the same mistake as BG in 406–7 *παρεσκευάζεσθε* for *παρασκευάζεσθε*, the origin of the error (*παρεσκευαζεσθαι* wrongly corrected to *-θε*) being established. The 24 cases (cf. p. 158) where BC combine against one or more of the other MSS. need not be discussed in detail, since Π uniformly supports BC save in the unimportant matter of the spelling of *στρατεία* (l. 184), for which ΠEF have *στρατιά* (cf. l. 17 referred to below, where Π alone is correct on this point). With a few exceptions (e.g. the reading of M in 720) the variations of the other MSS. from BC are mainly mere mistakes, and even where they are defensible the authority of Π coincides with the verdict already expressed by recent editors against them.

Another interesting feature of Π is its occasional agreement with the later MSS. against the seven leading codices selected by Hude, who almost entirely disregards the later ones except Parisinus 1734 in vi. 92–vii. 50. The phenomenon of agreements between papyri and the 'deteriores' is not new; it has been decidedly marked e. g. in the case of Xenophon, as is shown by **463** and **697**, but in that of Thucydides the only instances hitherto have been **16.** ii. 36 *διέδοσαν* with Bekker's KN for *διεδίδοσαν* and **853.** v. 21 *ἐκφυγεῖν* with Paris. 1735 for *ἐκφεύγειν*. Π, however, exhibits at least 7 (8 ?) coincidences with the late MSS. One of these, 747 *οὐκ* for *οὐκέτι* with apparently KN and Paris. 1734 and 1791, is almost certainly right (Hude brackets *ἔτι* with Krüger), and the insertion of *οἱ* before *Συρακόσιοι* in 999 with N, though perhaps due to a misplacement (cf. note *ad loc.*), is in accordance with custom. In ll. 486–7, where the chief MSS. are corrupt and Π is unfortunately incomplete, it apparently agrees with Paris. 1637, 1638, and 1736 in omitting an *ἄν* which can hardly be right, though whether that omission alone is sufficient to restore the passage is somewhat doubtful. In

544 Bekker's KLNOPQ and Paris. 1637, 1638, 1733, 1734, and 1736 are stated to read ἐπιβουλή (with Π) instead of ἐπιβολή before τῶν σιδηρῶν χειρῶν, and this reading of the later MSS. deserves consideration although rejected by recent editors. Against the conclusiveness of the parallel χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολαί in l. 434 may be urged first the possibility that ἐπιβολή in the second passage is a reminiscence of the first, and secondly the employment of the singular not the plural. In any case ἐπιβουλή is to be regarded not as an error of the late MSS. but an ancient reading. In 713 Π agrees with Paris. 1637 in having πον for ποι in καθεζομένη ποι τῆς Σικελίας, a variant which is defensible. The omission, however, of Βοιωτοί before Βοιωτοῖς in 142, which also occurs in Paris. 1636, is probably a mistake; cf. the insertion of Δωριῆς in 152. Nor is there anything to be said in favour of ἀντιλαβεῖν, which was erroneously read by Π^1 with Bekker's H in 551, but for which Π^2 rightly wished to substitute the ordinary reading ἀντιλαβήν. ἐνεκυκλοῦντο for the usual ἐκυκλοῦντο in 946, which is partly supported by ἐνκυκλοῦντο in Paris. 317, lacks parallels earlier than the Roman period, while the simple verb is common in Thucydides and occurs again as near as l. 969; but for this very reason the compound may after all be right; cf. ll. 63 and 150. The agreements between Π and the late MSS., though not very striking and in a few instances, e.g. 551, probably due to accident, show that something may yet be gleaned from further collations of the MSS. of Thucydides.

The new readings peculiar to Π, apart from a few mere mistakes which have been corrected, number twenty-six. They are thus less frequent than those in the much shorter first-century fragments of Book iv, which would cover about 250 lines of Π, and in the extracts from Book ii in 853, which was found with Π and is contemporary with it; cf. p. 157. The following eight seem to be improvements, four of them confirming conjectures: 17 στρατείας for στρατιᾶς (so Aem. Portus); 19 δή for ἤδη (so Gertz); 80 (?) om. τε (so Hude); 549 (?) om. ἄν (so Herwerden); 660–1 δικαίως ἴωσι for δικαιώσωσι; 691 om. ἔτι; 751 φθάσωσι for προφθάσωσι; 999 add οἱ before Συρακόσιοι. On the other hand the following seven are of more doubtful value: 4 τῶι πεζῶι for τῶν πεζῶν, 10 om. μέν, 19 ὁμοτρόποις for ὁμοιοτρόποις, 63 ἀνενεγκεῖν for ἐνεγκεῖν, 67 add ἐπί, 152 Δωριῆς Δωριεῦσι for Δωριεῦσι, 732 τε ναυμαχίας for ναυμαχίας τε. In 86, 133, 352, 634, and 680 words certainly or probably occurred in Π which are not in the MSS., but owing to lacunae the nature of the additions is uncertain. In 638 there was some variant for πεπύσθαι, which however seems to have been the word intended. The insertion of καὶ ὡς in 363 and the omission of τε in 931 and of οἱ in 999 appear to be mistaken, and δὲ πολεμίοις for δ' ἐναντίοις in 695 and the insertion of ἃ in 729 are probably errors of repetition. The new readings are thus not very numerous, nor, except in 661, do they make very much difference, and passages in the

MSS. which have been widely suspected are generally confirmed; cf. notes on ll. 22–3, 81, 94–5, 110, 139, 175, 483, 664, and 992. The larger proportion of new readings in **853** and much larger one in **16 + 696** may well be due to the different character of B in Book vii and in the earlier books, where it usually combines with AEFM. If B had maintained its normal relation to the other members of its family, Π would have presented far more novelties. The fact that nearly half of B's peculiar readings, including almost all those which are probably right, occur in Π proves their antiquity and value, and from vi. 92–viii B's authority is now entitled to rank at least as high as that of C. With regard to the earlier books of Thucydides the evidence of papyri has hitherto been conflicting, but on the whole tends to support CG against ABEFM (cf. p. 157); **853**, however, in a majority of cases favours the other side, the commentator in one case remarking of a variant found in CEG *ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ γράφεται*. Π's support of B in the later books hardly affects the question, since the change which comes over B at vi. 92, however it is to be explained, clearly indicates another source for its text of the later books. That B in them represents an edition by a grammarian seems to us, as has been said, unlikely. In view of the notable agreements between B and Π the date of such a revision would have to be placed not later than the second century; for after deducting from the total of B's peculiar readings (45) the instances (20 or 21) in which it simply supports Π, and those in which its reading can be readily explained by the ordinary processes of manuscript corruption, the remainder is small (about 12; cf. p. 158). This residue seems more likely to be due partly to the varied and independent character of its ancestor, which often agreed with Π but had many points of divergence, partly to the normal entrance of variations between the third and eleventh century, than to conjectures, whether good or bad, of a grammarian. It is indeed possible, and even probable, that if the text of Books ii and iv corresponding to B's version of vi. 92–viii could be recovered, it would prove to contain many of the new readings of **853** and **16 + 696**, and **853** happens to represent the text used by a grammarian who flourished at some period between 10 B. C. and A. D. 130 and may have played a part in determining the future text of Thucydides. But to the view that in vi. 92–viii CG or ACEFGM represent the main tradition current in the second century, and ΠB stand apart as being due to a separate edition, several objections may be urged. The papyrus texts of Plato, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Demosthenes have, as a rule, been distinctly eclectic in their relations to the mediaeval MSS., and the eclectic character of Π's text, which stands about midway between B and C, is a strong argument for its normality. Π neither exhibits a large number of arbitrary variants nor manifests any desire to eliminate

difficulties of construction, being on the whole decidedly conservative and combining the good points of both B and C, while **1246–7**, so far as they go, display the same tendency to agree with many of B's peculiar readings. Probably, therefore, B in vi. 92–viii represents a line of manuscript tradition which is different from that of ACEFGM, but to an equal extent conforms to the papyrus texts. B's variations from C in both the earlier books, as is indicated by **853**, and in the later, as is shown by Π, are to a large extent as old as at least the first or second century. Beyond the first century the history of the text of Thucydides is as yet veiled in obscurity.

Col. i.

[ο]θεν και τους [ι]ππους ε̣[λ]α̣ 54
[β]ον· Αθηναιοι δε ης [τε
[ο]ι̣ Τυρρηνοι τ[ρ]οπης ε[ποι
[ησα]ντο τ̣ωι πεζωι ες την
[λι]μ̣[ν]ην κα[ι] η[ς] αυτοι τωι
[αλλ]ωι σ[τρ]ατ[ο]πεδωι· γε 55. 1
[γεν]ημενη[ς δε] της νι [
[κης τοις Σ]υρ[ακ]οσιοις ›
[λα]μ̣[πρα]ς ηδη και του ν[αυ
[τικου π]ροτερον γαρ εφ[ο
[βουντο τα]ς μετα του Δη [ ]
[μοσθενους] ναυς επελ̣[θου
[σας ο]ι̣ [μεν] Αθηναιοι εν [ ]
[πα]ν[τι ηδη α]θυμι[ας] ησαν
[και] ο παρα[λογος α]υτ[οις] με
[γας η]ν [π]ολυ δ[ε μ]ειζων ετι
[της] στρ[ατ]ειας [ο] μεταμε
[λος πο]λε[σι γ]α̣ρ̣ [ταυ]τα[ις] μο 2
[ναις δ]η ομ[οτ]ρ̣ο̣[πο]ι̣[ς] επελ [ ]
[θοντ]ες δημ[οκρατο]υμε
[ναις] τε ωσπερ και [αυ]τοι και
[ναυς και] ι̣π̣[π]ους και [μ]εγε
[θη εχ]ο̣υ[σαι]ς ου δυν[αμ]ε
[νοι επεν]ε̣γκειν [ουτ εκ πο
[λιτεια]ς τ̣[ι μεταβολης το

Col. ii.

κατ[α θ]αλασσα[ν] καλον [56. 2
[σφ]ι̣[σ]ι̣ ε̣[ς τους Ελλ]η̣[να]ς το [
α̣[γων]ι̣[σμα φανε]ι̣[σθ]αι τους
τε [γ]α̣ρ̣ α[λλους] Ελλη[να]ς ευ
θυ[ς] τους μεν ελευθερουσθαι
τους δε φοβ[ο]υ απο[λυεσ]θα[ι
ου γαρ ετι δυ[ν]α[την εσ]εσθαι [
την υπολοιπ[ον Αθη]ναι
ων δυναμιν τ[ο]ν υ̣σ̣[τερ]ο̣ν̣ [ε
[π]ενεχθησομ[ε]νο[ν πολε
μ̣[ο]ν α̣ν̣ενεγκειν· [και αυ
τοι δοξαντες αυτ[ων αιτι
[ο]ι ε[ι]ναι υπο τε των [αλλων
ανθρωπων κα[ι των επει
τα επι πο[λ]υ θαυμ[ασθησε
σθαι· και ην [δ]ε̣ α̣ξ̣[ιος ο αγω̄ 3
κατα τ[ε] ταυ[τα και οτι
[ουχι Α]θηνα[ιων μονον
[περι]εγιγνοντο [αλλα και
τ[ων α]λλων πολλ[ων ξυμμα
χ[ων κ]αι ο̣[υ]δ̣ε α̣[υτοι αυ μο
ν̣ο̣[ν αλλα και μετα των ξυ
μβ[οηθησαντων σφισιν
η̣[γεμονες τε γενομενοι με
τα Κορι[νθιων και Λακε

[διαφορον αυ]τ[οις ωι προση
15 lines lost.
[του αυτοι σωθηναι μονο]ν 56. 2
[ετι την επιμελειαν] ε
[ποιουντο αλλα και οπω]ς
[εκεινους κωλυσο]υ[σι νο]
[μιζοντες ο]π[ερ ην α]πο
[τε των παροντ]ων [π]ο
[λυ σφων κ]αθ[υπερτερ]α
[τα πραγματα ε]ιν[α]ι· και
[ει δυναιντο κρα]τ[ησαι Α
[θηναιων τε και τω]ν ξυμ
[μαχων και κατ]α γην κα[ι]
δαι[μο]νιων [και την σφε
τεραν [πολιν εμπαρασχον
[τες] προκι[ν]δυν[ευσαι και
[τ]ου ναυτικου μ[εγα μερος
[προ]κοψαντες ε[θνη γαρ 4
[πλειστ]α δη επ[ι μιαν πο
[λιν ταυ]την ξ[υνηλθε
[πλην γε το]υ ξ[υ]μ[παντος
[. . . . . εν] τ[ω]δε τωι
[πολεμωι προς την] Αθη[ναι
[ων τε πολιν και Λ]ακεδ[αι
[μονιων τοσοιδε] γαρ εκα 57. 1
[τεροι επι Σικελιαν] τ[ε και
[περι Σικε]λια[ς το]ι[ς μεν
[ξυγκτη]σομενοι [την
[χωραν ε]λθ[οντες τοις δε
[ξυνδι]αστ[σ]οντ[ες επι Συρα
[κουσ]ας ε[π]ολε[μησαν
[ου κατ]α δικην τι [μαλλον
[ουδε] κατα ξυ[γ]γε[ν]ει[αν
[μετ] αλλ[ηλω]ν [σ]τα[ντες
[αλ]λ ως [εκαστ]οις τη[ς ξυν
[τυ]χ[ι]α[ς η κατα] το ξ[υμφε
[ρον] η α[ναγκη εσχεν Αθη 2
[ναιο]ι [μεν αυτοι Ιωνες
επι Δω[ριεας Συρακοσιους

Col. iii.

[εκοντες ηλθο]ν κα[ι α]υ[τοις 57. 2
[τηι αυτηι φω]νηι [και νομι
[μοις ετι χρω]μενο[ι Λημνιοι
[και Ιμβ]ριοι [κ]αι Αιγιν[ηται
[οι τοτ]ε Αιγι[ν]αν [ε]ιχ[ον και
[ετι Εστι]αιης οι εν Ε[υβοι

Col. iv. Plate III.

[Συρακοσι]ων στρατευο[μ]ε 57. 6
[νοις ην]αγκαζοντο πολε
[μειν] των [[δ]]τε περι Πελο 7
[ποννησ]ον νησιωτων
[Κεφαλλην]ες μεν και

[αι] Ἐσ̣[τιαι]α̣ν οικου[ν]τ̣ε̣[ς α
[π]οικ[οι οντες ξυ]νε[στ]ρ̣[α
[τευσαν των] δ̣[ε α]λλων [οι
[μεν υπηκοοι οι] δ α[π]ο̣ ξ̣[υμ
[μαχιας αυτονομ]ο̣[ι εισι
6 lines lost.
α[πο] δε [νησων Κειοι και Αν
δ[ριοι] και [Τ]ηι̣[οι εκ δ Ιωνιας
Μι[λη]σι[οι] και [Σ]α[μιοι και Χι
οι· τ[ουτ]ων Χιοι ο̣ὐ̣[χ υποτε
λεις οντες φο[ρου ναυς δε
παρεχοντες α[υτονομοι
ξυνεσπ[οντο και το πλει
[σ]τον Ἴωνες ο̣[ντες ουτοι
[π]α̣ν̣[τ]ες και α[π Αθηναιων
[πλ]ην Καρυστ[ιω]ν· ου[τ]ο̣[ι
[δ ε]ι̣[σι]ν̣ Δρυοπε[ς] υ̣π̣η̣κ̣[οοι
[δ ο]ντ[ε]ς και αν[α]γ̣κη ομως
[. . . . .]ες γε επι Δωριεα[ς
[ηκο]λουθουν· προς δ αυτ[οις
[Αι]ολης Μηθυμναιοι με[ν
[να]υσι και ου φο[ρ]ω υπηκο
ο[ι] Τ[ε]νεδιοι δε και Αινιο[ι υ
ποτελεις· ουτοι δε Αιολη[ς
Αιολευσι τοις κτισασι Βοι[ω
τοις μετα Συρακοσιων [κ]ατ[α
αναγκην εμαχον[τ]ο›
Πλαταιης δ[ε] κατ[α]ντικρυ
Βοιωτοις μονοι ει[κ]οτως
κατα εχθος· Ροδ[ιο]ι δε και›
Κυθη[ρι]οι Δωριη[ς] αμφοτε
ροι οι μεν Λακεδαιμονι›
ων απ[οι]κ[ο]ι [Κυ]θηριοι επι
Λ[α]κ̣[ε]δ̣[αιμ]ονιους τ[ο]υς α
[μα] Γυλιππ[ωι] μ[ε]τ Αθηναι
[Ζακυνθιοι] αυτονομοι›
[μεν κατα δε] το νησιω
[τικον μαλλον] κατειργ[ο
[μενοι οτι θαλα]σ[σ]ης ε [
[κρατουν οι Αθη]ναιοι ξ[υν
[ειποντο Κερκυ]ραι[οι δε
7 lines lost.
[θος το Κορι]νθ̣[ιων ουχ ησ
[σον ειπο]ντο· κα[ι οι Με]σσ[η
[νιοι νυν] κα[λ]ο[υμε]νοι [εκ
[Ναυπακτο]υ κ[αι εκ Π]υλου τ[ο
τ[ε υπ Αθη]ναι[ων] εχομε [
νη[ς ες το]ν̣ πο[λεμο]ν πα[ρε
λη̣[φθησ]α̣[ν]· [και ετ]ι Μ[εγα
[ρ]εω̣[ν φυγαδες ου] πολ[λοι
[Μεγαρε]υσ[ι] Σ̣[ελινου]ντι[οις
[ουσι κατ]α ξ̣[υ]μ[φο]ραν εμ[α
χοντ[ο] των δ̣[ε] α̣[λλω]ν [ε
κουσ̣[ιο]ς μαλ[λον η στ]ρα [
τια [εγι]γνετο [ηδ]η Α̣[ρ
[γε]ιοι [μεν ου] τ̣η̣ς [ξ]υ̣[μ]μαχ[·
[ας ενεκα μαλλον η] τ̣η̣ς [
[Λακεδαιμονιων [[. .] .]] τε [
[εχθρας και τ]η̣[ς] παραυτι [
[κα εκαστοι ι]διας ωφελι [
[ας Δωριης επ]ι̣ Δωριεας [
[με]τα Α[θηναιω]ν Ἴωνω[ν
η̣[κολουθουν Μα]ντινης
δ̣[ε και αλλοι] Αρκα[δ]ων
μ̣[ισθο]φ̣[οροι επι] τους αει
[πολε]μιου[ς σφισιν] αποδει
κ̣νυμ[ε]ν̣[ους ειωθ]οτε[ς ϊ]ε
ναι και [τοτε τους μετ]α̣
[Κ]ορινθι[ων ελθοντας Αρ
καδας [ο]ν̣[δ]εν [ησσον δια

ων οπλα επεφερον· Ροδι
οι δε Αργ[ει]οι γενος [Σ]υρα
κοσι[οις με]ν Δωριης Δωρι
[ευσι Γελωιο]ις δε κα[ι] α̣π̣ο̣ι
[κοις εαυτ]ων ουσι μ[ε]τα
κερδ[ο]ς ηγ[ο]υ[μενοι πολε
[μ]ιο[υς]· Κρητ[ες δε και Αι
3 lines lost.

Col. v.

17 lines lost.

[ταναιοι βαρβαρων δε] Εγε [57. 11
[σταιοι οιπερ επηγα]γον [
[το και Σικελων το πλεον]
[και των εξω Σικελια]ς Τ[υ
[ρρηνων τε τιν]ες κατα [δι
[αφορα]ν Συρακοσι]ων κα[ι Ι
[απυγες μισθοφορο]ι· τοσα [
[δε μεν μετα Αθ]ηναιων
[εθνη εστρατευο]ν Συρα 58. 1
[κοσιοις δε αντε]βοηθη
[σαν Κ]α̣μ̣[α]ρ̣ι̣[ναι]οι μεν ομο
[ροι ον]τες κα Γε[λωιο]ι̣ οι[κ]ο̣[υν
[τες] μετ [αυ]τ̣ους [επειτ Ακρα
[γα]ν̣τι[ν]ω̣ν̣ ησυχ[αζοντων
[εν τω]ι [ε]π̣ [ε]κειν[α ιδρυμε
[νοι Σ]ελι̣ν̣[ουντιοι και οιδε
[με]ν̣ της [Σικελιας το
18 lines lost.

Col. vi.

9 lines lost.

[αποσταλεν]τες [και Σικυ 58. 3
[ωνιοι ανα]γκασ[τοι στρα
[τευοντες κα]ι̣ τ̣[ων εξω Πε
7 lines lost.

[ες και ιπποι] και ο [αλλος 4

Col. vii.

[οι τολ]μ̣ησω[σι] πα[ρεσκευ 59. 3
α̣[ζοντ]ο̣ κα[ι] ο̣λ[ιγον ουδεν
ε[ς ουδε]ν επε̣ν̣[οουν τοις δε 60. 1
[Ἀθηναιοι]ς την̣ [τε αποκλη
σ̣ι̣[ν ορωσι] κ[α]ι τη[ν αλλην
[δ]ι̣[ανοια]ν αυτ[ων αισθο
8 lines lost.

[εκπλε]ν[σομενοι απειπον 2
[μη επα]γε[ιν ουτε το λοι
[πον εμ]ελλον [εξειν ει μη
[ναυκρα]τησου[σιν εβου
[λευσαντο τα μεν τειχη τα α]
[νω εκλιπ]ε̣[ιν προς δ αυταις
[ταις ναυσι]ν α[πολαβοντες
[διατειχι]σμα[τι οσον οιον τ ε
[λαχιστον τοις τε σκευεσι]
[και τοις ασθενεσι ικανον]
[γενεσθαι του]τ̣[ο μεν φρου
[ρειν απο δε του αλ]λ̣[ου πεζου
[τας ναυς π]α̣σ̣ο̣[ς] ο̣σ̣[αι ησαν
[και δυνατ]α̣ι̣ κα[ι] α̣[πλοωτε
[ραι παν]τα τινα ε[σβιβαζον
[τες [[την μ]εν]] κ[αι διαναυ
[μαχησαντες] η̣ν μ̣[εν νικω
5 lines lost.

[ρικου η] Ελλην[ικου φιλιου
[αντι]λη̣ψεσθαι κα[ι οι μεν 3

[ομιλος α]φθονο[ς ξυνελε
[γη και προ]ς [α]παν[τας αυ
29 lines lost.
[ως εδοξ]ε αυ[το]ις ταυ[τ]α και
[εποι]ησαν εκ τε γ[αρ τ]ων α
[νω τ]ειχων υποκ[α]τεβη
[σαν κ]αι τας ναυς επ[λη]ρω
[σαν π]ασας αναγκασ[αν]τ[ες
[. . . .]ας ε[σ]βαινειν [οσ]τις
[και οπ]ω[σ]ουν εδοκει ηλι [
[κιας με]τεχων επιτη
[δειος ειν]αι· και ξυνεπλη 4
[ρωθησα]ν νηες αι πασ[αι] δ[ε
[κα μαλι]στα και εκατ[ο]ν· [
[τοξοτας] τε επ α[υτας πο
[λλους και α]κο[ν]τ[ιστας των
[τε Ακαρνανω]ν κ[αι των α
[λλων ξενων εσεβιβαζον]

Col. viii.

και τα αλλα ω[ς οιον τ ην 60. 4
και ως εξ αναγκ[αιου τε και
τοι[αυτη]ς διαν[οιας επο
[ρισαντο]· ο δε Ν[ικιας επει 5
21 (?) lines lost.
[σαν που οικειαν π]ο̣λ̣[ιν επι 61. 1
[δειν αθυμειν δ]ε̣ ο̣[υ χρη ου 2
[δε πασχειν οπερ] οι α[πειρο
[τατοι των ανθρωπων οι τοις]
[πρωτοις αγωσι σφ]α̣λ̣[εν
[τες επειτα δια] παντος [την
[ελπιδα του φο]βου ομ[οιαν
[ταις ξυμφοραις εχο]υσιν [α 3
[λλ οσοι τε Αθηναιων] παρ[ε
[στε πολλων ηδη πολ]ε̣[μων
[εμπειροι οντες και οσοι] ·
[των ξυμμαχων ξυ]στ[ρα

Col. ix.

4 lines lost.
[πολ]λ̣[οι και ακοντισται 62. 2
[επιβ]η[σονται και οχλος ωι
[ναυμαχιαν μεν ποιο]υ̣μ̣[ε
[ν]οι ε̣ν̣ π̣[ελαγει ουκ] αν [ε
χ[ρω]μ̣ε̣[θα δια] το βλαπτ[ειν
α[ν το] της επιστημη[ς
τη[ι] β̣[α]ρυτητι τ̣ω̣ν ν̣ε̣[ω]ν [
εν δ[ε τηι ε]νθαδ[ε] ηναγ̣ [
κασμε̣ν̣[η] α̣πο των ν̣ε̣[ω]ν̣ [
[π]εξομα[χιαι] προ[σφορα
εσται· ευρηται δ ημ[ιν οσα 3
χρη αντ[ινα]υπηγη[σαι κα]ι
[π]ρο[ς τας τ]ω̣[ν] επω̣[τ]ι̣[δ]α̣[ν
[α]υτ[ο]ι̣[ς πα]χ̣[υτητ]α̣[ς] ω̣π̣ε̣ρ̣
[μαλιστ]α̣ [εβλ]α̣π̣τ̣[ομεθ]α
χ̣[ειρων σι]δ[η]ρων επιβολαι

[τευομενο]ι̣ αει μνησθη
[τε των εν τοις] πολεμοις παρα [
[λογων και το τ]ης τυχης καν [
[μεθ ημων ελπ]ισα[ντ]ες
[στηναι και ως α]ναμαχου
[μενοι α]ξι̣[ως του]δε του πλη
[θους οσο]ν [αυτοι] υμων α̣υ
[των ε]φο̣ρ̣[ατε π]αρεσκευα
] ε[ ] α̣ [δε εν]ειδο
[ζεσθ]α̣ι̣ τ̣ι̣ο̣[. αρωγ]α οιμεν 62. 1
[επι] τηι [του λιμε]νος [σ]τε
[νοτ]ητ[ι προς τον μ]ελλ[ο]ν
[τα ο]χλ[ον των νεων εσ]ε
[σθ]αι [και προς την εκει
[νω]ν̣ [επι των καταστρω
[ματ]ω[ν παρασκευην οις
[προτερον εβλαπτομεθα]

α̣[ι σχησου]σι την παλιν α
ν[ακρουσι]ν της προ[σ]πεσου [
σ̣η̣ς̣ [νεως] ην τα επι το[υ]τ̣ο̣ι̣[ς
ο̣ι̣ [επιβαται] υπουργωσι ες 4
τ̣ο̣[υτο γαρ δ]η̣ ηναγκασ[με]
θ̣α̣ [ωστ]ε̣ [πεζ]ομα[χ]ειν απο
τ̣[ων νεων κ]αι το μητε
[αυ]του[ς] ανα[κρο]υεσθαι μητ ε
κειν[ους] εα[ν] ωφελιμον
φαινε̣τα[ι] α[λλως τ]ε και τ̣η̣ς̣
[γ]ης π̣λ̣[η]ν̣ ο[σον αν ο] πεζο[ς]
[ημ]ω̣ν̣ [επ]εχ[ηι πολ]εμιας
[ουσης] ων χ̣[ρη] με 63. 1
[μνημενο]υς διαμαχε
[σθαι οσον α]ν δυ[νησ]θε
[κ]α̣ι μ[η εξωθει]σ̣θα[ι ες αυτ]ην
αλλ̣[α ξυμπε]σ̣[ο]υ̣σ̣η̣[ς ν]η̣ι̣
[νεως μη προ]τ̣ε̣ρο̣[ν] α̣ξ̣ι̣
[ουν απολυεσθαι η] το[υ]ς α

12 lines lost

Col. x.

8 lines lost.

[μ]η̣ [οντες υμων της τε 63. 3
φ[ω]νη[ς] τ[ηι επιστημηι
και̣ τω̣[ν τροπων τηι μι
μη[σ]ε̣[ι ε]θα[υμαζεσθε
[κ]ατα [την Ελλαδα και της αρ
χ̣[ης της ημετερας ουκ ε
λασ[σον κατα το ωφελει
σθαι· ες [τε το φοβερον τοις
υπηκ̣ο̣[οις και το αδικει
σθαι [πολυ πλεον μετειχε
τε ωστ[ε κοινωνοι μονοι 4
ελευ[θερως ημιν της αρ

Col. xi.

5 lines lost.

[υμων νυν εσομενοι] και π[ε 64. 2
[ζοι τοις Αθηναιοις] εισι κα[ι
[νηες και υπολοιπος] πολις [

10 lines lost.

σα[μενος ευθυς εκελευε 65. 1
πλ[ηρουν τας ναυς τωι
δε [Γυλιππωι και τοις Συρα
κοσι[οις παρην μεν αισθα
νεσ[θαι ορωσι και αυτην
την π[αρασκευην οτι ναυ
μαχησ[ουσιν οι Αθηναιοι
πρ[οη]γγ[ελθη δ αυτοις και

χης ον[τες] δ̣ι̣κ̣[αιως αυ
την νυν μ̣[η καταπρο]δι
[δ]οτ[ε κ]α̣τα̣[φρονησαντ]ες
δ̣ε̣ Κορινθ[ιων τε ους] πολ
λ]α̣κ̣ι̣[ς] νενικ[ηκατε κ]αι [Σικ]ε
ων
λιωτ]ω̣ν̣ [ουδ αντιστη]ναι
[ουδεις εως ηκμαζε το] ν[α]υ
[τικον ημιν] η̣[ξι]ω̣σε α
[μυνασθε αυτους και δ]ειξ̣[α
[τε οτι και μετ ασθεν]ειας
[και ξυμφορων η υμετε]ρα
[επιστημη κρεισσ]ω̣ν̣ [εστ]ι̣ν̣
ετ[ερας ευτυχουσ]η̣[ς ρωμ]η̣ς
τ[ους τε] Α̣[θηναιο]υ̣ς [υμων] 64. 1
[παλι]ν [αυ και ταδε υπομι]
[μνησκω] ο̣τ̣[ι ουτε να]υ̣[ς εν
[τοι]ς̣ ν̣ε̣ω̣σ̣[οικοις αλλας ο
[μοι]α̣ς̣ τα[ι]σδε [ουτε οπλιτων
[ηλι]κ̣[ι]α̣ν̣ υπε̣[λιπετε ει τε
[ξυμ]βησ[ε]τ[αι τι αλλο η το
[κρατειν] υ̣[μιν τους τε ενθα
[δε πολεμι]ου[ς ευθυς επ εκει
[να πλ]ε̣υ[σο]μ̣[ενους και τους
9 lines lost.

η επιβου[λη των σιδηρων
χει[ρ]ων [και προς τε τα αλ
λα ε[ξ]ηρτ[υσαντο ως εκαστα
κα[ι προς τουτο τας γαρ πρω 2
ρα̣ς̣ [και της νεως ανω επι
πολ[υ κατεβυρσωσαν οπως
απο[λισ]θα[νοι και μη εχοι
η[
αντιλαβε[ι]ν̣ [η χειρ επιβαλ
λομενη· κα[ι] ε̣[πειδη παν 3
τα ετ[οι]μα ην [παρεκελευ
σα[ντο εκειν]ο̣[ις οι τε
στρατηγοι και [Γυλιππος
και ελε̣[ξα]ν το[ι]αδ[ε οτι μεν 66. 1
[κ]αλα [τα] π̣[ρ]οειρ[γασμενα και
υ̣[πε]ρ̣ κ̣α̣[λ]ω̣ν̣ τ̣[ων μελλον
[των ο αγων εσται ω Συρα]
κ̣οσ̣[ιοι και ξυμμαχοι οι
τ̣ε π̣[ολλοι δοκειτε ημιν
[ειδε]ν̣α̣[ι ο]υ̣[δε γαρ αν αυ
[των ο]υ̣τω πρ[οθυμως αν
[τελαβ]εσθε κ̣α̣[ι ει τις μη ε
[πι οσον] δε[ι] ησθ[ηται σημα
[νουμεν] Αθη[ναιους γαρ 2
[ες την χωραν τηνδε ελ]
[θοντας π]ρωτο[ν μεν επι
[της Σικελ]ι̣α̣[ς καταδουλω

Col. xii.

[σει] ε̣π̣[ει]τ̣[α ει] κα[τορθωσει 66. 2
[αν] και τη[ς Πε]λ[οποννησου
[τε] κ̣α̣ι̣ τη[ς αλ]λης Ε[λλαδος
[και] α̣[ρ]χ̣η̣[ν την] ηδη [μεγισ
[την] τ̣[ων τε πρι]ν Ε[λληνων
[και τ]ω̣[ν] υ̣[υν κ]ε[κ]τ[ημε

Col. xiii.

[ευρ]ησ[ουσι πως ου σφαλουσι 67. 2
[τε] τας [ναυς και εν σφισιν
[αυ]τοις πα[ντες ουκ εν τωι
[αυ]των τροπωι [κινουμε
[νοι] ταραξ[ονται επει και 3
[τω]ι πληθ[ει των νεων

[νους πρωτοι α]νθ[ρωπων υ
[ποστ]αντ[ες τωι ναυτικωι
[ωιπε]ρ παν[τα κατεσχον
[τας μ]εν [νενικηκατε ναυ
18 lines lost.
598 κ[ησεως προσγεγενημε 67. 1
ν[ης αυτωι το κρατιστους
600 ε[ιναι ει τους κρατιστους ενι
κη[σαμεν διπλασια] εκα[στου
η [ελπις τα δε πο]λλα προς
[τας επιχειρησ]εις η με
[γιστη ελπ]ι[ς μεγ]ιστην
605 [και την π]ροθυμια[ν] πα[ρε
[χεται τα τ]ε της α[ν]τ[ιμι 2
[μησεως α]υτων [της πα
[ρασκευη]ς η[μω]ν τω[ι
[μεν ημε]τερ[ωι] τροπωι
610 [ξυνηθη τε] εστ[ι κα]ι ου[κ ανα
[ρμοστοι π]ρος εκ[ασ]τον [
[αυτων εσομεθα οι] δ επ[ει
[δαν πολλοι μεν οπλιται]
[επι των] κα[ταστρωματων
615 [παρα το] καθε[στηκος ωσι
[πολλοι δε] ακο[ντισται
[χερσαιοι] ως ειπ[ειν Α
[καρνανες] τε και α[λλοι ε
[πι ναυς αναβα]ντες οι
620 [ουδ οπως καθεζομενους]
[χρη το βελος αφειναι]

[ο]υκ ωφελ[ησονται ει τις
] κ[αι] τοδε υμ[ων οτι ουκ ισαις
630 [ν]α[υ]μαχη[σ]ε[ι πεφοβηται
] εν ολιγ[ω] γαρ [πολλαι αργοτε
]ραι με[ν ες το δραν τι ων βου
]λονται[ι] εσονται[ι ρασται δ ες
] το βλαπτ[εσ]θα[ι αφ ων . . . .
635 [η]μ[ι]ν παρεσκ[ευασται το 4
[δε αληθεστατον γνωτε]
[εξ ων η]μεις οι[ομεθα σα
[φως πε]πυ . . σθ[αι υπερβαλ
[λοντων γ]αρ αυτ[οις των
640 [κακων κα]ι βια[ζομενοι
[υπο της π]αρου[σης απορίας
[ες απονοια]ν κα[θεστηκα]
[σιν ου παρ]ασκ[ευης πιστει]
[μαλλον η τ]υχ[ης αποκιν]
645 [δυνευσει] ουτ[ως οπως
[δυναντα]ι [ι]ν η [βιασαμε
[νοι εκπλευ]σωσι[ν η κατα
[γην μετ]α τουτο [την απο
[χωρησιν] ποιω[νται ως
650 [των γε π]αροντων [ουκ αν
[πραξον]τες χειρ[ον προς 68. 1
[ου]ν [ατ]αξιαν τε [τοιαυτην
[κ]αι τυχην α[νδ]ρ[ων εαυτην
[παρ]αδεδωκυια[ν πολεμι
655 [ωτατ]ων οργη π[ροσμει
[ξ]ωμεν· και νομ[ισωμεν
[αμα μ]εν ν[ομιμωτατον
[ει]ναι π[ρος τους εναντιους
οι αν ω[ς επι τιμωρια του
660 προσπ[εσοντος δικαιως
ϊωσι α[ποπλησαι της γνω
[μης το θυμουμενον αμα]

[δ εχθρ]ους α[μυνασθαι εκγε
[νησο]μενον ημ[ιν και το
665 [λεγο]με[ν]ρ[ν που ηδιστον
[ειν]αι· ω[ς 'δ εχθροι και ε 2
7 lines lost.

Col. xx.

1 line lost.

675 [ανειλοντο και απο]πλευ 72. 1
[σαντες προς την πολ]ιν τρο
[παιον εστησαν οι δ]ε Αθη 2
[ναιοι υπο μεγεθους] των
[παροντων κακων νε]κ[ρ]ω̄
680 [μ]εν π[ερι η των ναυαγι
[ων] ουδ ε[πενοουν αιτη
[σαι] αναι[ρεσι]ν [τ]ης δ[ε] νυ
[κτος] ε[βο]υ[λ]ευοντο ευθυς
[αναχωρ]ειν· Δημοσθε 3
685 [νης δε Νι]κ[ι]α προσελθων
[γνωμην ε]π[ο]ιειτ[ο] πληρω
[σαντα]ς ε[τι] τας [λοι]πας τω̄
[νε]ων βι[α]σασ[θ]αι την δυ
[νων]ται αμα εω[ι] τον εκ
690 [πλου]ν λεγων οτι πλειους
[αι λο]ιπαι νηες χρησιμαι
[σφισιν] η τ[οι]ς πολεμιοις· η
[σαν γα]ρ [τ]οις μεν Αθηναιοις
[περι]λοιποι ως εξηκον
695 [τα τ]οις δε πολεμιοις ε
[λασσο]υς η πεντηκοντα·
[και ξυ]γχωρουντος Νικιο[υ] 4
[τηι γν]ωμηι και βουλο[μ]ε
νων πληρουν αυτων ο[ι
700 ναυται ο[υκ] ηθελον εσβ[αι

Col. xxi.

[α]λλ εξελ[θ]οντας ηδη π[αν 73. 1
[τα]ς Συρακο[σ]ιους και τ[ους
ξυ[μ]μαχ[ο]υς τας τε ο[δους
απ[οικοδο]μησαι και τ[α στε
725 νοπορα των χωριω[ν προ
φθασαντας φυλασσε[ιν
οι δε ξυν[ε]γιγνωσκον μ[εν 2
και αυτοι ου[χ] ησσον ταυτ[α
εκεινου α και εδοκει πο[ι
730 [η]τεα ειναι· τους δ ανθ[ρω
[πο]υς αρτι ασμενους απο [
[τ]ε ναυμαχιας μεγαλης [πε
[παυ]μενους και αμα εορ [
τ[ης ο]υσης ετυχε γαρ αυ[τοις
735 Ηρακλει ταυτην την ημ[ε
ραν θυσια ουσα ου δοκει[ν ᾱ
ραδιως εθελησαι υπακου [
σαι· υπο γαρ του περιχαρους [
της νικης προς ποσιν τε [
740 τραφθαι τους πολλους εν [
τηι εορτηι· και παντα
μαλλον ελπιζειν αν σφω[ν
πε[ι]θεσθαι αυτους η οπ[λα
λαβοντας εν τωι παροντι [
745 ε[ξ]ελθειν· ως δε τοις αρχου[σι 3
τ[αυ]τα λογιζομενοις εφαι
[νε]το απορα [κ]αι ουκ επειθε [

νει[ν] δια [το] καταπεπλη [
[χθαι] τ̣[ε] τ̣η̣ι̣ [ησ]ση και μη [
[αν ετι] οιεσθαι κρατησαι·
και [οι] μεν ως κατα γην
ανα[χ]ωρησ[[α]]ν[τ]ες ηδη
ξυμπ[α]ντες την γ[ν]ωμη̄
ειχον· Ερμοκρατης δε ο 73. 1
Συρακ[οσ]ι̣[ος] υπονοησας αυ
των την [δι]ανοιαν και νο
μισας [δ]εινον ειναι ει το
[σ]αυτη στρατια κατα γην
απ[οχ]ωρησ[ασα και καθε
[ζ]ομεν[η πο]υ της Σικελι
ας βουλ[η]σε[ται] αυθις σφι
[σι] τον π[ο]λ[ε]μον ποιεισθαι
[ε]σ̣ηγειτ[αι] ελθων τοις
[εν τε]λ[ε]ι ουσι ως ου χρεων
[α]ποχωρησαι της νυκτ[ο]ς
[αυ]τους περιϊδειν λεγων
[τα]υτα α και [α]υτωι εδοκει
αυτους ο Ερμοκρατης αυτο̣ς
[επι] τουτοις ταδε μ[ηχα]να
[ται] δεδιως μη οι Αθηναι
[οι] καθ ησυχιαν φθασωσι εν
[τη]ι νυκτι διελθοντες τα
[χα]λεπωτατα των χωριων
πεμπει των εταιρων τι
νας τ[ων ε]αυτου μετα ιπ
πεων [προς] το των Αθη
ναιων [στρατ]οπεδον η
ν[ι]κα ξ[υνεσκ]οταζε· οι προσ [
ελασα[ντες εξ] οσου τις εμε[λ
λε α[κουσεσθαι] και ανακα
λεσαμενοι [τιν]α[ς ω]ς ον
τες των Αθηναιων επ[ι
τ[η]δειοι ησαν γαρ τ[ινες τω Νι
κ[ια] διαγγελοι των εν[δο
θεν εκελευον φραζειν [
Νικια μη απαγειν της ν[υ
κτος το στρατευμα ως Συ
ρακοσιων τας οδους φυλασ [

Col. xxviii.

11 lines lost.

[κοσιοι εν τ]ουτ[ωι προελ 78. 5
[θοντε]ς την διοδ[ον την
[εν τ]ωι προσθε α[πετειχι
[ζον ην] δε λοφ[ος καρτε
[ρος και εκ]ατερω[θεν αυτου
[χαραδρ]α κρ[ημνωδης ε
4 lines lost.
[ξυμ]μ̣[αχων αυτους ιππεις 6
[και α]κο[ντι]σ̣τ̣[αι οντες πολ
[λο]ι εκατεροι ε[κωλυον

Col. xxix.

21 lines lost.

[σα]ντ[ες προς το πεδιον 79. 5
] μαλλο[ν οι Αθηναιοι ην
] λισαντ[ο τηι δε υστε
[ρ]αια πρ[ουχωρουν και οι
[Συρα]κ̣[οσιοι προσεβαλλον
[τε πανταχη αυτοις κυκλω]
και π̣[ολλους κατετραυμα
τιζ[ο]ν κα[ι ει μεν επιοι
εν οι Αθη[ναιοι υπε]χωρ[ουν
ε̣[ι δ α]ν̣α̣χ̣ω̣[ροιεν επ]ε[κ]ε̣[ιντο

[και ε]σηκοντιζον [τε και
[παρι]ππευον· και χ[ρο
[νον μ]εν πο[λ]υν εμαχ[ο]ν [
[το ο]ι Αθηναιο[ι]· επειτ α
[νεχ]ωρη[σ]αν παλι[ν] ες
[το αυτ]ο στρ[ατοπεδο]ν
[και τα ε]πιτη[δεια ουκετι
[ομοιως] ειχο[ν ου γαρ ετι
18 lines lost.

Col. xxx.

10 lines lost.

[αυτη ουκ επι Κα]τα[νης 80. 2
[τωι στρατευματ]ι α[λλα
[κατ]α [το ετε]ρ[ον μ]ερο[ς της
[Σι]κελιας το π[ρος Κα]μ[αρι
[ναν κα]ι [Γε]λα[ν και] τα[ς ταυ
[τη πολεις] κ[αι Ελλ]ην[ιδας
[και βαρ]βαρο[υς κα]υ[σαν 3
[τες ουν πυρα πολλ]α εχω[ρουν
[εν τηι νυκτι κ]αι α[υτοις
[οιον φιλει και πα]σι σ[τρα
[τοπεδοις μαλιστα δ]ε [τοις
13 lines lost.
[χωρ]ει· αμ[α δε τηι εω αφι 5
κνουντα[ι ομως προς την
θαλα[σ]σαν [και εσβαντες
[ες] την οδο[ν την Ελωρι
[νη]ν [κα]λ[ουμενην επο
[ρευο]ντο [οπως επειδη γε
[νοιντο] επ[ι τω ποταμω τω
[Κακ]υπαρ[ει παρα τον πο
[τ]α[μ]ον [ιοιεν ανω δια της
με[σ]ογει[ας ηλπιζον γαρ
[κ]αι τους [Σικελους ταυτη

[και μαλιστα] τοις [υστα
[τοις] προσπ[ιπτ]ον[τες
[ει πως κ]ατ[α β]ρ[α]χ[υ] τρ[εψα]μ[ε
[ν]οι παν το στρατευμα φο
[β]ησ[εια]ν και επι πολυ μεν 6
[τοιουτωι τ]ρο[π]ω[ι] αντει [
[χον οι Αθηναι:οι επε]ι[τα
12 lines lost.

Col. xxxi.

7 lines lost.

[νες εκελευον εν] το[υτω 81. 1
[δ ο]ι Συρακοσιοι [και] οι ξυ[μ
[μ]αχοι ως η τε [η]μερα [ε
γενετο και εγνωσαν του[ς
Αθηναιους απεληλυθο
τας εν α[[ν]]τ[ια ο]ι [π]ολλοι
τον Γυλιππον ε[ι]χον εκον
τα αφε[ι]ναι τους Αθη[ναι
ους· κ[αι κατα ταχος διω
κοντ[ες ηι ου χαλεπως η
σθανο[ντο κεχωρηκοτας
καταλ[αμβανουσι περι αρισ
του ωρα[ν και ωσπερ προσεμι 2
ξαν τοι[ς μετα του Δημοσθε
νους υσ[τεροις τ ουσι και σχο
[λαιτερον και αταξτοτερον]
] χωρουσ[ιν ως της νυκτος
] τοτε ξυνεταρ[αχθησαν
[ε]υθυς προσπεσ[οντες εμα
[χ]οντο· και οι ιππ[εις] των
[Συ]ρακοσιων εν[εκυκ]λουν
[το] τε ραιον αυ[τους] διχα

ους [μ]ετ[επεμψαν απαν
τησεσ[θ]α[ι ε]π[ειδη δε] ε[γε 6
νοντο επ[ι] τωι [ποτα]μωι
[ε]υρον κα[ι] ενταυ[θα] φυλα [
κη[ν] τ[ιν]α των Συρα[κοσ]ι[ων

Col. xxxii.

15 lines lost.

984 μ[αλλον ην ετι η προς των 81. 5
985 Α[θηναιων και αμα φειδω
τ[ε τις εγιγνετο επ ευπρα
γ[ιαι ηδη σαφει μη προ
α[ναλωθηναι τωι και ε
ν[ομιζον και ως ταυτη τη
990 ϊ[δεα καταδαμασαμενοι
λη[ψεσθαι αυτους επειδη 82. 1
γο[υν δι ημερας βαλλοντες
παν[ταχοθεν τους Αθηναι
ους κ[αι ξυμμαχους εωρων
995 ηδη [τεταλαιπωρημενους
τοις τ[ε τραυμασι και τηι
αλλη[ι κακωσει κηρυγμα
ποιουν[ται Γυλιππος και
οι Συρ[ακοσιοι και ξυμμα
1000 χοι π[ρωτον μεν των νη
σιωτω[ν ει τις βουλεται ε
π ελευ[θεριαι ως σφας απι
[εν]αι· κ[αι απεχωρησαν τι

7 lines lost.

1011 τ[ε βιαιως μητε δεσμοις μητε 2
τ[η]ς [αναγκαιοτατης εν
δεια[ι διαιτης και παρεδο 3
σαν [οι παντες σφας αυτους
1015 εξακ[ισχιλιοι και το αργυ

[ηδη οντ]ας κα[ι ξυν]ηγον
[ες ταυτο το δε Ν]ι[κιο]υ στρα 3
950 [τευμα απειχε] εν τ[ω]ι προ
[σθε κ]αι [πεν]τηκον[τ]α στα
[διους θ]α[σσο]ν τε γα[ρ] ο
[Νικια]ς ηγ[ε] νομι[ζ]ω[ν ου
[το υπ]ομενε[ι]ν εν τωι τ[οι
955 [ο]υτ[ωι] εκοντας ειναι κ[αι
ο
[μ]αχεσθαι σωτηριαν· α[λ
[λ]α το ως ταχιστα υποχ[ω
[ρ]ειν τοσαυτα μαχομ[ενους
[οσ]α αναγκαζονται· ο δ[ε Δη 4
960 [μο]σθενης ετυγχανε τ[ε
[τα πλ]ειω εν πονω ξυν[εχε
[στερ]ω ων δια το ϋστερω [ανα
[χωρουν]τι αυτωι πρωτω[ι] επ[ι
[κεισθαι] τους πολεμιους· και [το
965 [τε γνους] τους Συρακοσιους διω[
[κοντας ο]υ προυχωρει μαλ
[λον η ες] μαχην ξυνετασ
[σετο [[. . .]]εω]ς ενδιατρειβων

ριον [ο ειχον απαν κατε
θεσα[ν εσβαλοντες ες ασ
. . . . . .

Fr. 1.

]θρ̣α̣π̣ρ̣[
]ν̣α̣ι̣δ . [
]μ̣ο̣ι̣[
] . ο̣ν̣ . [
]ο̣μ̣[
] . [
]α̣[

Fr. 2.

] . [
]α̣ι̣τ̣[
]ι̣τ̣[
] . . ι̣ . [
] . [
]η̣ . [

Fr. 3.

]ι̣[.
] . [
]ν̣α̣[
]ο̣[
]ν̣τ̣[
]ε̣[

Fr. 4.

]τ̣ι̣α̣[
]α̣τ̣ε̣[
] . π̣[
]ι̣ . . τ̣[
] . [

Fr. 5.

]α . [
] . σοι̣[
]β̣ι̣[
]αν̣[
]ω̣ . [

Fr. 6.

]ι̣
]ε
]α̣ι̣
] .
]ι̣

Fr. 7.

] . [
] . [
]ρα[
] . [
] . [

Fr. 8.

α[
κα̣ι̣[
ό[
ο[
. [

Fr. 9.

] . ι̣[
]π̣ν̣[
]α . . [
]σ̣τ[

Fr. 10.

] . [
]τ̣ . [
] . . τοτ̣[
]θ̣[

Fr. 11.

]ν[
]τ̣αι . [
[ ]
]κτ̣[

Fr. 12.

] .
]θε[.]
]
]η̣

Fr. 13.

]π̣[
]τ̣[
[ ]
]λ̣ . [

Fr. 14.

]α̣ . [
]τ̣ω π̣ρο̣[
]αρ̣[

Fr. 15.

]ο̣ν[
]τ̣α[
]τ̣ι̣τ̣[

Fr. 16.

]ανι̣[
]π̣ωι π̣[
]ν̣[

Fr. 17.

] . [
]σο[
] . [

Fr. 18.

] . [
]τι[
]ν[

Fr. 19.

. [.] . [
καθ̣[
. α[

Fr. 20.

]δ̣[
] . [
] . υμ̣[

Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.	Fr. 23.	Fr. 24.
α̣[	]·[	]η̣[	]ατα̣[
α̣ι̣[	]κλ̣[	]·τ[	]σγε[
ε̣α̣·[	]·γ̣[	]τ̣η̣[	]ε̣[

Fr. 25.	Fr. 26.	Fr. 27.	Fr. 28.
]·[	]τ̣ον[	]πολ[	]α̣ι̣[
]νε̣[	]α̣πω̣[	]ε̣νε[	]ν̣ εργα· τη··[
]η̣ρ̣[	]·[	end of column.	

Fr. 29.	Fr. 30.	Fr. 31.	Fr. 32.
]α̣[	]α[	]τε̣ι̣[	]ε[
]εαι̣[	]ν[	]τ̣[	]ν̣[

Fr. 33.	Fr. 34.	Fr. 35.	Fr. 36.	Fr. 37.
]ε	]σ̣[	]ψ̣[	]α·[	]ε[
]ε	]η[	]χε̣α̣[	]ι̣[	]ν̣βοια̣[

Fr. 38.	Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.
]τ̣οτεσ̣[	]ε[	]τ̣ο̣να›	]κηνι̣[
		end of column.	

Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.
]ι̣κ·[	α[	]·α[	]ι̣[

3. Τυρρηνοι: Τυρσηνοι MSS., edd.

4. τωι πεζωι: τῶν πεζῶν MSS. The dative (instrumental) is meant to balance τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ (ll. 5–6); but τροπὴν ποιεῖσθαι with the gen. occurs in ii. 19. 2, and the dative may well be a mere slip; cf. εναντ[ια] for εν αιτ[ια] in l. 931.

9. και: so ACEFGM, edd.; om. B.

10. γαρ: μὲν γάρ MSS. μέν is superfluous, as is remarked by the scholiast, there being no answering δέ but another μέν in l. 13.

14. πα]ν̣[τι ηδη: so, with the remark δὴ γράφεται, B; παντὶ δή ACEFGM, edd. ἤδη has already occurred in l. 9, and its repetition so soon after must be wrong, but the size of the lacuna distinctly favours the supposed agreement with B. The same question between ἤδη and δή arises in l. 19, where Π, though imperfect, favours δή against ἤδη of the MSS., and again in l. 948.

17. στρ̣[ατ]ειας: so edd., following the correction of Aem. Portus; στρατιᾶς MSS. Cf., however, l. 184, where Π has στρατια and most MSS. στρατεία. No regularity was observed by scribes in the use of these words.

19. δ]η: *ηδ]η* (MSS.) is too long and Gertz had already conjectured *δή* here. *ἤδη*, which occurred recently in l. 9 and by an error in l. 14 (cf. note *ad loc.*), is less appropriate.

ομ[οτ]ρο[πο]ι[ς]: *ὁμοιοτρόποις* BCFGe^2, edd., *ὁμοιοτρόπαις* AE, *ὁμοιοτρόπως* MG suprascr. The surface of the papyrus is much damaged and the supposed *ρο* very uncertain, but ομ[οι]οτ[ρο(πο)]ι[ς] and ομ[οιο]τρ[οπο]ι[ς] are unsuitable. *ὁμοιότροπος* occurs once elsewhere in Thuc. (iii. 10. 1), but not *ὁμότροπος*. Herodotus, however, speaks of *ἤθεα ὁμότροπα* (viii. 144).

22–3. *ναυς και] ιπ[π]ους και [μ]εγε[θη εχ]ου[σαι]ς*: *ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ μεγέθει ἐχούσαις* MSS., except B (*ναῦς καὶ ἵππους*) C (*μεγέθη*) M (*μεγέθη* suprascr.) f^2 (*μεγέθη*) and a^2 (*ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ μεγέθη αὐχούσαις*. Duker's emendation *ἰσχυούσαις* for *ἐχούσαις* is accepted by Hude and Stuart Jones; Π supports the simpler *ἐχούσαις* with the accusatives, as preferred by the older editors. The chief objection to it is that the plural of *μέγεθος* is not found elsewhere in Thuc.; but cf. Stahl's note and p. 160.

42. *μονο]ν*: or, less probably, *σωθηνα]ι*, omitting *ετι* in the next line with F.

45. *κωλυσο]υ[σι*: so C, followed by Hude and Stuart Jones; *κωλύσωσι* ABEFGM. Cf. **1247**. 23, which agrees with C in reading *λήσουσι*, not *λήσωσι*, after *ὅπως*.

49. [*τα*: so ACEFGM, edd.; om. B. *τα* is necessary to fill the lacuna.

58. *φοβ[ο]υ*: so CG, edd.; *φόβωι* ABEFM.

63. *ανενεγκειν*: *ἐνεγκεῖν* MSS. except M, which has *ἐπενεγκεῖν* owing to the preceding *ἐπενεχθησόμενον*. For *ἀναφέρειν* in the sense of 'sustain' in Thuc. cf. iii. 38. 3 *αὐτὴ δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀναφέρει*.

64–5. *αυτ[ων αιτιο]ι*: so ACEFGM, Hude, Stuart Jones; *αἴτιοι αὐτῶν* (*αὐτῶν* suprascr.) B, Classen.

66. There is not room at the end of the line for [*ι υπο των επει*], the reading of ABEFM and edd. *υπο* is also omitted by C and some of the later MSS.

67. *επι πο[λ]υ*: *πολύ* MSS.

68. The supposed traces of [*δ*]*ε αξ[ιος* are very slight, and the supplement at the end of the line somewhat long, for the *ξ* comes under *μ* of *θαυμ[ασθησε*|; but no variant here is known, and neither *ην* [*δ*] *αξι[ος* nor *ην* [*α*]*ξιο[ς* suits the vestiges. For final *ν* represented by a stroke cf. ll. 679 and 687.

72–4. The words *των αλλων . . . αλλα και* are omitted in M owing to homoioteleuton.

πολλ[ων: so ABCFGM, edd.; *πόλεων* E.

76–7. *με]τα Κορι[νθιων*: so ABCEFM, edd.; *μετὰ τῶν Κορ.* G.

80. *προκι[ν]δυν[ευσαι*: *προκινδυνεῦσαί τε* MSS.; but *τε* spoils the construction and is bracketed by Hude, following Krüger. Since the *υ* of *δυν* comes under the final *ν* of *νιων* in l. 78 and above the final *υ* of *ναυτικου* in l. 81, it is probable, though by no means certain, that *τε* was omitted. The supposed *δ* of *δυν* is very doubtful, the vestiges suiting *τ* better.

81. *μ[εγα μερος*: so MSS., Stuart Jones; Hude brackets *μέρος* with Krüger and Stahl, but Π must have had it.

83–4. *πολιν ταυ]την*: so ACEFGM, edd.; B has *ταύτην πόλιν* with *β* and *α* superscribed.

85. [*πλην γε το]υ*: so B; ACEFGM, edd. insert *δή* after *γε*, but neither |[*πλην γε δη το]υ* nor [*πλην* | *γε δη το]υ* suits the size of the lacuna, since *ξ* of *ξ[υ]μ[παντος* is under the *ξ* of *ξ[υνηλθε* in l. 84.

86. After *ξύμπαντος* the MSS. have *λόγου τοῦ* which is not at all satisfactory. Heilmann conjectured *ξυλλόγου τοῦ*, Krüger *ὄχλου τοῦ*, which is accepted by Hude but not by Stuart Jones. *λογου* or *οχλου* is rather short for the lacuna, which has room for six letters before *του εν*], but *ξ[υ]μ[παντος ξυ*|*λλογου* is unlikely and [*λογου του εν τωδε*] *τω*[*ι πο*| inadmissible, although it is not quite certain that *τω* belongs to *τωδε* rather than to *τωι*.

90. *Σικελιαν*]: so MSS., Stuart Jones; Hude adopts Krüger's conjecture *Σικελίᾳ*. The *τ* of *τ*[*ε* comes under *αρ* of *γαρ* in l. 89, and the reading of the MSS. yields 16 letters where l. 89 has 14½, so that *Σικελιαι* even without iota adscript would be long enough; but in the

absence of very strong reasons for the dative (cf. Stahl's note) Σικελιαν is more probable; cf. ll. 94–5, note.

91. το]ι[ς: so ABCEGM, edd.; τούς F.

93. ε]λθ[οντες: so ABCEFM, edd.; om. G.

94. [ξυνδι]ασω[σ]οντ[ες: so B (suprascr.) E (-σωισ-), edd.; ξυνδιασώσαντες ABCFM.

94–5. Συρακουσ]ας: so MSS., Stuart Jones; Bauer's emendation Συρακούσαις is accepted by Stahl and Hude; cf. the former's note. The vestige before ς suits α distinctly better than ι. The objection to ἐπὶ Συρακούσας is that since ἐπολέμησαν applies to both sides ἐπὶ Σ. ἐπολ. must mean not 'made war against S.' but 'came to S. for the war', which is awkward if ἐπὶ Σικελίαν is retained in l. 90, where Π's reading is unfortunately doubtful.

99. εκαστ]οις: so AB (suprascr.) CEFGM, Hude, Stuart Jones; ἕκαστοι B and Paris. 1638, which reading if retained would require εσχον in l. 101, as in several of the late MSS.

103. Δω[ριεας: so MSS. and cf. ll. 133 and 191; Δωριᾶς Hude, Stuart Jones. This line seems to have been unusually long owing to a desire not to divide Συρακοσιους between two columns. There happens to be no quite certain instance in Π of such a division, but Cols. vii, xii, and xxii probably began in the middle of a word. The division Συρακοσι|ους does not suit ll. 104–14.

109. Εστι]αιης: so ACEF, edd.; Ἑστιαιεῖς BGMc^2.

110. Εσ[τιαι]αν οικυν[ν]τε[ς: so MSS.; these words are bracketed by Hude, following Krüger. That the fragment containing the doubtful εσ and οικ in the next line is rightly placed is not certain.

121–2. The fragment containing α of α[πο and δ of δ[ριοι is not certainly to be placed here. M omits και before Αν]δ[ριοι and C before Τηι[οι.

Τηι[οι: so ACEFGM; Τήνιοι B, edd.; cf. p. 160. The traces of a stroke after η suit ι better than ν, and the line is already rather long.

125. οντες φο[ρον: so ACEFGM, edd.; B places φόρου before οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς.

127. ξυνεσπ[οντο: so ABCEFGM, Stuart Jones; ξυνείποντο Hude with three of the late MSS.

130. The supposed stop after Καρυστ[ιω]ν is doubtful.

133. [. . . . . .]ες γε: Ἴωνές γε B, edd.; Ἴωνές τε ACEFGM. γε is right, but Ἴωνες could be dispensed with, being a repetition of what has been stated in l. 128; cf. notes on ll. 142 and 152. Moreover if the letter preceding ες was ν, and not α, δ, or λ, the last stroke ought to be visible in a vacant space before ες. The surface of the papyrus is, however, damaged, and part of the ν may have been rubbed off. Ιων]ες γε is satisfactory enough by itself, but it is difficult to fill up the lacuna. ως, i. e. ὡς, due to the preceding ὅμως, is hardly long enough.

139. κτισασι: so CEFMB corr. g^2, edd.; κτήσασι ABGc^2.

Βοι[ω|τοις: so MSS.; Βοιωτοῖς ⟨τοῖς⟩ Lindau, followed by Hude and Stuart Jones. Βοι[ωτοις| τοις is too long.

142. κατ[α]ντικρυ Βοιωτοις: so Paris. 1636; κιταντικρὺ Βοιωτοὶ Βοιωτοῖς ABCEFGM, Stuart Jones, καὶ ἄντικρυς Βοιωτοὶ Βοιωτοῖς Hude, adopting a conjecture of Böhme. The meaning of καταντικρύ here has been much disputed. Π's reading apparently connects it with Βοιωτοῖς, i. e. 'opposite to' or 'against', not 'outright' or 'on the other hand'. But the omission of Βοιωτοί is probably a mere error; cf. l. 152, note, and p. 162.

144. κατα: so AEF; κατ' CG, κατὰ τό BM and some of the late MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones. The angular sign at the end of the line is not certain, but cf. l. 141.

146–7. E omits οι . . . Κυθηριοι owing to homoioteleuton.

149. μ[ε]τ: so ABCEFM (μετά), edd.; μετὰ τῶν G.

150. επεφερον: so B; ἔφερον ACEFGM, edd. The supposed stop is uncertain.

152. Δωριης Δωρι[ευσι: om. Δωριῆς MSS. Since Δωριῆς has already been applied to the

Rhodians in l. 145 it is unnecessary here, but Δωριῆς ἐπὶ Δωριέας occurs in l. 191, and there are several similar antitheses in this chapter; cf. notes on l. 142, where the divergence between Π and the MSS. is just the contrary to that found here, and 133, where Ἴωνες is repeated in the same sentence by the MSS. (and perhaps Π), much as Δωριῆς here.

157. τε (corr. from δε by Π[1]): τε ACEFM, edd., δέ B.

162. κατειργ[ομενοι: so ABEFM, edd.; καταργόμενοι C, corr. c[2].

164. οι Αθη]ναιοι: so ABEFGM, Stuart Jones; om. οἱ C, Hude. That Π had οι is not quite certain, but if it was omitted there were only 11 letters where l. 163 has 12 and 165 13.

175–6. εκ Ναυπακτο]υ: so B, Stuart Jones; ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ACEFGM, ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου Hude following Classen.

184. στ]ρατια: so EF; στρατεία ABCGM, edd.; cf. l. 17, note.

186. [μεν ου]: so ACEFG, Hude; μὲν γὰρ οὐ B, Stuart Jones, μὲν οὖν M. There is no room for γάρ in the lacuna if the following της is rightly read, and μεν γα]ρ ου [τ]η[ς ξ]υ[μ]μαχ[ι does not suit the vestiges so well, besides yielding a line of 23 letters.

188. [Λακεδαιμονιων [. .] .] τε: before τε is what looks like either ω or ο with a line above it, or else τ or γ with a stroke through it, and probably there was a correction. The MSS. read Λακεδαιμονίων τε.

190. ωφελι[ας: so B (ὠφελείας) a[2] marg., edd.; om. ACEFGM owing to homoioteleuton; cf. ll. 602–4, note.

191. Δωριεας: so MSS.; cf. note on l. 103.

193. The paragraphus below this line is uncertain.

195–6. αει [πολε]μιου[ς: so ACEFGM, edd. (αἰεί); λειπομένους B.

197–8. ειωθ]οτε[ς ἴ]εναι: so B, avoiding a hiatus, followed by Bekker; ἰέναι εἰωθότες ACEFGM, Hude, Stuart Jones. One of the dots over ι is visible.

223–4. Εγε[[σταιοι: so ACEFGM; Ἐγεσταῖοί τε B, Hude, Stuart Jones. The exact position of this fragment is uncertain and Εγε[σ|ταιοι τε or Εγε[σται|οι τε can also be read, with επηγα]γον[το | και Σικελιωτων in ll. 224–5. Σικελῶν is the reading of B, preferred by Hude and Stuart Jones, Σικελιωτῶν of ACEFGM. Whichever arrangement be adopted, Π seems to have agreed once with B against the rest, once with the rest against B, rather than with or against B in both cases where this MS. differs from the others.

226. Τ[υρρηνων: cf. l. 3.

234. κα: l. και.

οι[κ]ο[υντες]: so ABEFGM, edd.; οἱ οἰκοῦντες C.

235. μετ [αυ]τους: so BCEGMf[2], edd.; μετὰ τούς AF.

236. ησυχ[αζοντων: so ABEFGM, edd.; om. C.

267–79. The division of lines in both fragments of Col. vi is quite uncertain.

277. ο [αλλος: so B, Stuart Jones; ἄλλος ACEFGM, Hude.

310–14. It is not certain that the fragment containing the beginnings of lines is correctly placed here, so that the division of lines is doubtful.

323–39. The division of lines is uncertain. With the ordinary reading of the MSS. ll. 327–35 are rather long, and perhaps there were some omissions. That Π agreed with C in reading τῶν for τά in l. 327, or with B in having ἀσθενοῦσιν and ἁπάσας for ἀσθενέσι(ν) and πάσας in ll. 332 and 335 is unlikely. The supposed λ of αλ]λ[ον in l. 334 is very doubtful; it may be the π of πεζον.

337. ε[σβιβαζοντες: so BCf[2], edd.; but ε[σβιαζοντες (AEFM) is equally possible. It is fairly clear that the scribe first omitted πληρωσαι και διαναυμαχησαντες (so MSS.) owing to homoioteleuton, and then corrected his mistake, partly at any rate, by expunging ην μεν. The missing πληρωσαι may have been inserted in the margin.

350. κ]αι: so ABEFM, edd.; om. C.

352. [. . . .]ας: om. MSS. Perhaps [παντ]ας or [ες αυτ]ας or [ταυτ]ας, though none of these is any improvement.

356. απασ[αι], the reading of Π^1, does not occur elsewhere as a variant for *αἱ πᾶσαι* (MSS., Π^2).

358. τε επ: so ACEFGM, edd.; τ' ἐπ B, τ' ἐς Krüger.

362–3. τα αλλα ω[ς οιον τ ην] και ως εξ αναγκ[αιου τε και: τἄλλα ὡς οἷόν τ' ἦν ἐξ ἀν. τ. κ. MSS., except B which has ὡς above ὅσα. It is not certain that Π had ω[ς rather than ο[σα, and l. 363 is long enough without τε. ὅσα οἷόν τ' ἦν καὶ ὡς can hardly be right, and if ὡς οἷόν τ' ἦν be retained, καὶ ὡς becomes superfluous, being perhaps due to a misunderstanding of τ'. ἐξ ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ τοιαύτης διανοίας is a somewhat difficult expression, in which it is not clear whether ἀναγκαίου is feminine or neuter.

386–96. The division of lines is uncertain.

399. αει: so MSS.; αἰεί Hude, Stuart Jones; cf. l. 195.

405. αν[των: so BCEFGM, edd.; om. A.

406–7. π]αρεσκευα[ζεσθ]ε (corr. by Π^3 from -θ]αι): so BG; παρασκευάζεσθαι ex. corr. c^2, παρασκευάζεσθε ACEFMg^2, edd. After this the MSS. have ἃ δὲ ἀρωγὰ ἐνείδομεν, which seems to have been seriously corrupted in Π, α δε becoming τια[. (?) and ενειδομεν becoming οι μεν: the reading of the MSS. is superscribed by Π^3.

410–11. εσ]ε|[σθ]αι: the division ε|[σεσθ]αι leaves l. 410 too short, although [σθ] is hardly enough for the lacuna at the beginning of l. 411, where three letters would be expected.

425. τη[ι]: so ABCEFMg^2, edd.; om. G.

426. ηναγκασμεν[η] or ηναγκασμε[ν]η[ι] can be read.

429. ευρηται: so MSS.; ηὕρηται edd.

430. χρη αντ[ινα]υπηγη[σαι: so Ba^2, edd.; μὴ ἀντιναυπηγεῖσθαι (which makes no sense) ACEFGM. B adds ἀντιναυπηγεῖσθαι γράφεται.

432. ωπερ: so ACEFGM; ᾧπερ δή B, edd. Possibly δη is lost, the surface of the papyrus being damaged; but this addition would make the line rather long.

442. ανα[κρο]νεσθαι: so BCGMf edd.; ἀνακρούσεσθαι AEF.

444. φαινετα[ι]: so CEFG, edd.; φαίνηται ABM, ABF having ἐάν for ἐᾶν in l. 443.

447. [ουσης]: so ACEFGM, edd.; εσομενης (B, with οὔσης suprascr.) is too long, since there was probably a space before ων.

450–2. The letters α of]σθα[ι, υση of πε]σ[ο]υση[ς, and ερο and part of the τ of προ]τερο[ν were on a separate fragment which is not certainly to be placed here, ση being very doubtful.

452–3. αξι[ουν . . . η]: so B (with γράφεται ἤν) f, edd.; but the reading of ACEFGM αξι[ον . . . ην] would occupy the same space.

479–80. ουκ ε]λασ[σον: cf. l. 483, note.

480–1. ὠφελεῖσθαι ἔς τε τό is repeated by mistake in E.

482–3. το αδικει]σθαι: so ACEFGM, Hude; τὸ μὴ ἀδ. Ba^{2}e^2, Stuart Jones, τὸ διακεῖσθαι some late MSS. The line is long enough without μή, but its omission is not certain.

483. [πολυ πλεαν: so MSS. (πλέον B, πλείω CG, corr. g^2, πλεῖον AEFM). Hude follows Krüger and Stahl in deleting the words as inconsistent with and a gloss upon οὐκ ἔλασσον in l. 479, where Classen wished to delete οὐκ ἔλασσον, retaining πολὺ πλεῖον here. Stuart Jones keeps both phrases, and κατὰ τὸ ὠφελεῖσθαι is then contrasted with ἔς τε τὸ φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι, though this is not very satisfactory. Π, however, clearly had πολυ πλε(ι)ον: the stop after ωφελει]σθαι suggests that it may have had δε for τε, as desiderated by Reiske, in l. 481.

486–8. δικ[αιως αν]την νυν μ[η καταπρο]δι[δ]οτ[ε: the best MSS. are corrupt here, inserting ἄν after δικαίως, which is impossible with the imperative (μή om. AF, add a^2f^2, καταπροδίδωτε E, -διδῶτε e^2, -δοίητε some late MSS.). The simplest course, followed by Stuart Jones, is to omit ἄν with Bekker, who in so doing claims the support of Paris. 1637, 1638, and 1736;

but this makes δικαίως very difficult, since ἀδίκως would rather be expected. Hude obelizes the passage. Π is unfortunately very imperfect: it is not certain that ἄν was omitted, and the supposed traces of δικ[αιως are very doubtful; but reckoning from [τες there are 12 letters in the corresponding space in the lines above and below, and 12 letters are necessary for l. 486 apart from ἄν. No support for Madvig's emendation ἂν . . . καταπροδίδοιτε is forthcoming, the imperative with μή being confirmed. The μ of μ[η is fairly certain, for the vestiges do not suit κ.

491. The MSS. agree with Π² in reading ὦν omitted by Π¹ after [Σικ]ε[λιωτ]ων.

495. και μετ ασθεν]ειας: so ACEFGM, edd.; B omits καί, but the size of the lacuna here is in favour of it.

496. νμετε]ρα: so ABCEFG, edd.; om. M.

499. [νμων]: so edd. from B's ἡ ὑμῶν; but [ἡμῶν] (ACEFGM) may of course be read.

508. πλ]ευ[σο]μ[ενους: so BFM, Stuart Jones; πλευσουμένους CE, Hude, πλευσωμένους A. πλευ[σον]μ. cannot be read.

523–5. The division of lines in this fragment is uncertain, but there is a short blank space after πολις in 525. In that line before υπολοιπος Π may have had η, which is read by edd. with some late MSS., but omitted by ABCEFGM.

544. επιβου[λη: so several late MSS.; ἐπιβολή ABCEFGM, &c., edd.; cf. χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολαί in 434 and p. 162.

545–6. τα αλ]λα: τἄλλα MSS., except C and a few of the later ones which have πολλά. Cf. l. 362.

549–50. οπως] απο[λισ]θα[νοι: ὅπως (καὶ ὅπ. M) ἂν ἀπ. MSS. This use of ἄν with the optative after ὅπως is rare, and Herwerden wished to delete ἄν here. The line is certainly long enough without it.

551. αντιλαβειν (αντιλαβην Π²): ἀντιλαβήν MSS., except the Cassellanus (-βεῖν). The β was perhaps retouched.

552–3. παν]τα ετ[οι]μα: so ACEFGM, edd.; ἕτοιμα πάντα B.

562–3. αυτων ο]υτω: so B; οὕτως αὐτῶν ACEFGM, edd.

565. δε[ι]: so BCEFGM, edd.; δή A with δεῖ suprascr. a².

569–70. The letters επ in l. 570, και in 571, and κα in 572 are a separate fragment which is not certainly to be placed here, and up to 579 the division of lines in Col. xii is doubtful. The supposed ε of επ[ει]τ[α in 570 is rather large, and might well be the beginning of the line, but if so 569 must have been shorter than the MSS. reading (? δουλωσει| for καταδουλω|σει), or else καταδουλωσει | projected considerably in order to avoid dividing it between two columns; cf. l. 103, note.

επ[ει]τ[α ει]: ἔπειτ' εἰ ACEFGM, edd.; ἔπειτα δὲ εἰ B.

571–2. Πε]λ[οπονννησου | τε]: so B; om. τε ACEFGM, edd. Πε]λ[οπονν|σου], omitting τε, is somewhat less probable.

576–7. υποστ]αντ[ες: so MSS. The two letters following α have been corrected, perhaps from λε, i. e. υποσταλεντες.

598–602. The beginnings of these lines with the two paragraphi are on a separate fragment, which is doubtfully assigned to this position. Line 600 is rather long (24 letters; om. τους?), and a paragraphus is hardly expected after l. 597. The doubtful κ in l. 601 might be β. το in l. 599 is the reading of the MSS., retained by Stuart Jones; Hude reads τοῦ with Krüger.

602–4. τα δε πο]λλα . . . ελπ]ι[ς: so Bf³ edd.; om. (owing to homoioteleuton) ACEFGM; cf. l. 190, note, and p. 159.

611. εκ[ασ]τον: so B, Stuart Jones; τὴν ἑκάστην ACEFGM, τὴν ⟨τέχνην⟩ ἑκάστην Hude.

616. ακο[ντισται: so CE; καὶ ἀκ. ABFGM, edd. πο|λλοι δε και] ακ. is less probable.

622–44. The division of lines is nearly certain up to l. 635, especially as there is

a short blank space before *εν* in l. 631. The fragment containing ll. 637–44 might go a little further to the left.

625. [*αυ*]*των*: so (*αὐτῶν*) ACF, Hude; *ἑαιτῶν* (which does not suit the size of the lacuna) B, Stuart Jones, *αὐτῶ*(*ι*) EGM, corr. g. But [*αυ*]*των* may of course be *αὑτῶν*.

τροπωι: *ροπωι* is on a separate fragment which is not certainly placed here.

633. *εσονται*: so ABEFGM, edd.; *ἐσόμεναι* C.

634–5. [*αφ ων . . . .* | *η*]*μ*[*ι*]*ν*: *ἀφ' ὧν ἡμῖν* MSS. The attraction of the nominative of the relative clause is unusual, but seems unavoidable. [*αφ ων ηδη* is possible, but the missing word may have preceded *αφ ων*.

637–8. *σαφως πε*]*πυ . . σθ*[*αι*: *σαφῶς πεπύσθαι* MSS., G having *σφίσι γράφεται* above *σαφῶς*. The traces of the letter following *πυ* suggest *η*, *ν*, or *π*; the next letter has almost entirely vanished. *πυθεσθ*[*αι* is not suitable, and would create a difficulty in filling up the preceding lacuna; it is more likely that the scribe misspelled *πεπυσθαι*, and possibly it was corrected.

644. *αποκινδυνευσει*] or *οποκινδυνευσαι*], Duker's generally accepted emendation of the reading of the MSS., can be read.

649. *ποιω*[*νται*: so ABGc^{2}f^2, edd.; but *ποιο*[*υνται* (CEFM) is possible.

652. [*απ*]*αξιαν*: so ABEFGM, edd.; *ἀταξία* C, corr. c^2.

654. [*παρ*]*αδεδωκνια*[*ν*: so ABEFGMc^2, Stuart Jones; *παραδεδωκῦαν* C, Hude.

660–1. *δικαιως*] *ἴωσι*: *δικαιώσωσι* C, *δικαιώσωσιν* ABEFGMc^2, edd. In this awkwardly constructed sentence *δικαιώσωσιν* is generally considered to govern *ἀποπλῆσαι*, and *οἳ ἂν . . . δικαιώσωσιν ἀποπλῆσαι τ. γν. τὸ θυμ.* has to serve as the subject of *νομιμώτατον εἶναι*; cf. ii. 44. 1 *τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἳ ἂν . . . λάχωσι . . . καὶ οἷς . . . ξυνεμετρήθη*. With *δικαίως ἴωσι*, however, *ἀποπλῆσαι* is to be connected with *νομιμώτατον εἶναι* and balances *ἀμύνασθαι* better. The other difficulties, the fact that *ἐναντίους* is not the antecedent of *οἵ*, the change from the infinitive to the participle after *νομίσωμεν*, and the superfluous *καί* before *τὸ λεγόμενον*, are not apparently affected by Π's readings.

663–6. The division of lines in this fragment is not quite certain.

664. *η*[*μιν και*: so MSS. except Paris. 1638, which omits *καί*. *καί* had been deleted by Reiske and is rejected by Classen and Hude but retained by Stuart Jones; it is indispensable in Π, if *η*[*μιν* is right. *τ*[*ε ημιν και*, omitting *το*, might be read.

680–2. *των ναναγι*|*ων*] *ουδ ε*[*πενοουν αιτη*|*σαι*] *αναι*[*ρεσι*]*ν*: om. *των* MSS. There was some variant in Π unless l. 680 had only 14 letters, and though in l. 681 [*ενο*]*ουν* might be read with some late MSS., the following letter is like *ε*, not *α*, and not more than 10 letters would be expected in l. 680 after *π*[*ερι*, whereas *π*[*ερι η ναναγιων ουδε* | gives 13. *αἰτῆσαι ἀναίρεσιν* is unnecessary, but *ων* | [*ενο*]*ουν ε*[. . . . . | . .] *αναι*[*ρεσι*]*ν* is less likely than a slight change in l. 680, such as the insertion of *των*.

683. *ε*[*βο*]*υ*[*λ*]*ενοντο*: so ACEFGM, Hude, Stuart Jones; *ἐβούλοντο* B.

691. [*αι λο*]*ιπαι*: *ἔτι αἱ λοιπαί* B, *ἔτι αἱ λοιπαί εἰσι* ACEFGM, edd. Π must have omitted *ἔτι* or *αἱ*, probably the former, as well as *εἰσί*. *ἔτι* has recently occurred in l. 687, where Classen wished to omit it as an intrusion from the present passage, in which he suggested the omission of *αἱ*. More probably Π is right in omitting *ἔτι* here.

695. *δε πολεμιοις*: *δ' ἐναντίοις* ABCEFG, edd., *δὲ ἐναντίοις* M. *πολεμίοις* is probably repeated from l. 692.

699. *αυτων*: so BEMf^{2}g^2 edd.; *αὐτόν* ACFG, *αὐτάς* some late MSS.

702. *τ*[*ε*]: so B, Stuart Jones; om. ACEFGM, Hude.

705. *ανα*[*χ*]*ωρησαν*[*τ*]*ες* (corr. to *-σοντες* by Π^3): *ἀναχωρήσοντες* ABEFg^2, edd., *-σαντες* CGM.

712. *απ*[*οχωρησ*]*ασα*: so CE, Hude; *ὑποχωρήσασα* ABFGM, Stuart Jones.

713. *πο*[*υ*: so Paris. 1637; *ποι* ABCEFGM, edd., *πη* three other late MSS.

716. [*ε*]*σηγειται*: so ABCEFGM, edd.; *ἐφηγεῖται* c^2 and some late MSS.

720. *α και*: so BCG, edd.; *καὶ ἃ* EM, *καὶ ἃ καί* AFg suprascr.
εδοκει: so ABCEFG, edd.; *ἐδόκει εἶναι* M.
723. *τας*: so ACEFGM, edd.; *τά* B.
724–5. *στε]νοποpα*: so BCEFM, edd.; *στενότερα* AB *γράφεται.*
των χωριω[ν: so ABCEFM, edd.; *τῶι χωρίωι* B *γράφεται.*
725–6. *προ]φθασαντας*: so ACEFMB *γράφεται*, Hude; *διαλαβόντας* B, Classen, *προδιαλαβόντας* Stuart Jones. Cf. l. 751, note.
727. *ξυν[ε]γιγνωσκον*: so ACFM, edd.; *ξυνεγίνωσκον* BE.
728. *ησσον*: so CEFGM, edd.; *ἧττον* AB.
729. *α*: om. MSS. The insertion of *ἃ* may have been intended to ease the construction of the infinitive *δοκεῖν ἄν* in 736 (which depends loosely on *ξυνεγίγνωσκον, καὶ ἐδόκει ποιητέα* being parenthetic), but is probably due to a reminiscence of *ἃ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει* in l. 720. The ink of *α* is rather faint and it may have been intentionally obliterated. C has *ποιητεο* for *πο[ιη]τέα* (corr. c^2).
732. [*τ*]*ε ναυμαχιας*: *ναυμαχίας τε* MSS. Cf. p. 162.
732–3. *πε|παν]μενους*: so B. *αναπε|παν]μενους* (ACEFGM, edd.) is too long.
734–5. *αν[τοις] Ηρακλει*: so ACEFGM, edd.; *Ἡράκλεια* (*Ἡρακλεῖ γράφεται*) B. Hude's conjecture *ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* is not confirmed.
736. *δοκει[ν αν*: so MSS., but Π may have omitted *ἄν*.
739. *τετραφθαι*: so ACEFGM, edd.; *τετάφθαι* B.
747. *ουκ*: so apparently some late MSS. and Krüger, followed by Hude; *οὐκέτι* ABCEFGM, Stuart Jones. Cf. p. 161.
751. *φθασωσι*: *προφθάσωσι* C; *προφθάσωσιν* ABEFGM, edd. *προφθάσαντας* recently occurred in l. 725 and *προφθάνειν* is not found with a participle elsewhere in Thuc., so that the simple verb may well be right here.
754. *εταιρων*: so BCEFGM, edd.; *ἑτέρων* A, corr. a^2.
755. *ε]αυτου*: so ABEFGM, edd.; *ἑτοῦ* C, corr. c^2.
758. *ξ[υνεσκ]οταζε*: so C; *ξυνεσκόταζεν* ABEFGc^2, edd.; *ξυνεσκόταξεν* M.
767. The initial *σ* of *Συρακοσιων* has been corrected or rewritten.
768. The *σ* of *φυλασ|[σοντων* seems to have been inserted later by Π^1.
780–5. The division of lines is uncertain.
782. *προσθε*: *πρόσθεν* ABCEFG, edd., *ἔμπροσθεν* M. Cf. l. 950, note.
792. *εκατεροι*: so ACEFGM; *ἑκατέρωθεν* B, edd. Cf. p. 160.
840–4. The division of lines in this fragment is not quite certain. Line 844 may be shortened by restoring *προσεβαλον* with GM.
852. *τρ[εψα]μ[εν]οι*: so ACEFGM, edd.; *τρ[εψό]μ[εν]οι* (B) is not well suited to the size of the lacuna.
879–89. The arrangement of these lines is fairly secure. To make *κελιας* in l. 882 begin a line does not suit 883, and the division *π[ρος | Κα]μ[αριναν* does not suit 879.
881. *μ]ερο[ς*: so ACEFGM, edd.; om. B.
885.]*βαρο[* is on a separate fragment, which is not quite certainly placed here.
909. *επ[ι*: so B, edd.; *παρά* ACEFGM, obviously from l. 910.
911–12. *δια της] με[σ]ογει[ας*: so B; om. *τῆς* ACEFGM, edd. It is not clear that Π inserted it, but if it is omitted the line had only 16 letters, for to read *π]ο[τ]α[μον* is less satisfactory, besides reducing l. 910 to 16 letters.
914. [*μ*]*ετ[επεμψαν*: so ACEFGMB suprascr., Hude; but [*μ*]*ετ[επεμψαντο* (B, Stuart Jones) is possible.
915–16. [*ε*]*π[ειδη δε] ε[γε|νοντο* or *ε]π[ει δε εγ]ε|νοντο* can be read. *ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγ.* CG, *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγ.* AEFM, edd., *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγ.* B. The paragraphus below this line was probably added by Π^3.

917. [ε]υρον (ABCFGM) is more likely than [η]υρον (E, edd.); cf. l. 429.

931. εναντ[ια] (corr. by Π² to εν αιτ[ια]) : ἐν αἰτίᾳ τε MSS. εναντια is a mere error, but τε, which occurred in l. 928, is unnecessary. The surface of the papyrus is damaged after αιτ[, but if the corrector had added τε, part of it ought to have been visible.

932. εκ of εκοντα is apparently corrected, perhaps from αρ.

938–9. ωσπερ προσεμι]ξαν : so ACEFGM (προσέμιξαν), Hude, Stuart Jones (-εμει-); ὡς προσέμιξαν B. Π may have had either ως or ωσπερ.

943. τοτε : so ACEFGM, edd.; τε after an erasure B.

946. εν[εκυκ]λουν[το] : ἐνκυκλοῦντο Paris. 317, ἐκυκλοῦντο ABCEFGM, edd. ἐγκυκλοῦν does not occur in Thuc., who uses κυκλοῦν frequently (the passive occurred in the lost l. 969), but ἐγκυκλοῦσθαι is common in writers of the Roman period. Cf. p. 162.

948. [ηδη ουτ]ας : so B with δή suprascr.; δὴ ὄντας ACEFGM, edd. The size of the lacuna strongly favours ηδη; cf. the confusion of δή and ἤδη in ll. 14 and 19.

950. προ[σθε : so C, πρόσθεν ABEFG, edd.; ἔμπροσθεν M; cf. l. 782, note.

951. κ]αι : so ACEFGM, edd.; ἑκατὸν καί B with some late MSS.

956. σωτηριαν (σωτηριον Π²): σωτήριον with σωτηρίαν suprascr. B; σωτηρίαν ACEFGM, Hude, Stuart Jones. Classen preferred σωτήριον.

959. [οσ]α αναγκαζονται : so ABEFGMc, Stuart Jones; ὅσα ἀναγκάζωνται CK, ὅσ' ἂν ἀναγκάζωνται Dobree, Hude.

960. τ[ε : so MSS., except two of the late ones, Stuart Jones; Dobree, followed by Hude, wished to omit it, but cf. the next note.

961. πονω : so B with the Cassellanus and Paris. 1733, Stuart Jones; πόνῳ τε ACEFGM, Hude; cf. the preceding note. Π is likely to have been right.

963. πρωτω[ι] : so ABEFMg², edd.; om. CG.

967. ξυνετασ[σετο : so ABEF, edd.; ξυνετάττετο CG, ἢ ξυνετάσσετο M.

968. Before ενδιατρειβων there is a correction, the reading of the MSS. being apparently added by Π² above the line. The first (and possibly the second) letter of ενδιατρειβων is crossed through, but probably by mistake, unless εν occurred in the preceding word (μεν?). ἐνδιατρίβων MSS., edd.

992. γο[υν : so MSS. Hude and Stuart Jones adopt Dobree's correction δ' οὖν.

999–1000. οι Συρ[ακοσιοι : so the Clarendonianus; om. οἱ ABCEFGM, edd. Cf. p. 161. ξυμμα]χοι : οἱ ξύμμαχοι MSS.; cf. the preceding note. It is not certain that οι was omitted, but the lacuna is of the same length as that in l. 998.

1017. It is not certain that any lines are lost at the bottom of this column, which contains 49 lines so far, while Col. xxxi has 50.

Frs. 1–45. These small pieces are not to be regarded as coming from tops or bottoms of columns unless so described in the text.

Fr. 1. 2.]ναιδ . [: or]νδιδ . [.

Fr. 3.]νδ[can be read in l. 3 and possibly θ in l. 6, but this fragment is not from ll. 110–15.

Fr. 15. The light colour of this fragment resembles that of Cols. xx–i and xxxi–ii.

Fr. 28. 2. The supposed stop after εργα may be a letter.

Fr. 37. 2. Possibly Ε]υβοια[, but not l. 109. The colour of this fragment does not suit Col. iii, so that Στυρ]ε[ις . . . Ε]υβοια[ς (ll. 119–20) is also inadmissible, as is] ε[ξω Πελοποννησο]υ Βοιω[τοι in ll. 269–70.

1377. Demosthenes, *De Corona*.

29·1 × 12·4 cm. Late first century B.C.

This nearly complete column from a roll of the speech *De Corona* is written in upright uncials whose informal character is exaggerated by the largeness of their scale. That the hand is of early date is clear from its style, which recalls that of **216**, and a further proof is supplied by the verso, which contains accounts in cursive of the first century. The text on the recto may be ascribed with probability to the latter half of the first century B.C., or at any rate to the reign of Augustus, and thus seems to be the oldest fragment of any speech of Demosthenes hitherto recovered. Pauses in the sense are represented by short blank spaces, in which a high or medial dot is sometimes inserted (by a later hand?); such blank spaces, however, occasionally occur when there is no pause. Paragraphi were also employed (l. 11). A horizontal dash is once used for the purpose of filling up a short line. Remains of a cursive adscript, referring to the previous column, occur in the left margin opposite l. 12.

The text shows a tendency to omission, and was evidently not distinguished by great accuracy, but is not without small points of interest. A coincidence with a reading of Tiberius which was adopted by Blass is noticeable in l. 25.

ετερων επακολουθειν § 167
γνωμαις ησθην και μαλ
λον υμας επαινωι κατα
πολλα· και μαλιστα δ επι
5 τωι βουλευεσθαι τουτων
ασφαλεστερον και τα —
προς ημας εχειν εν ευ
νοιαι· οπερ ου μικραν
υμειν οισει ελπιζω ρο
10 πην εαν περ επι ταυτης
μενητε της προθεσεως
]ου ουτως διαθεις Φιλιππος § 168
τας πολεις προς αλληλας
[δ]ια τουτων και τουτοις
15 [ε]παρθεις τοις ψηφισμα
[σι]ν ηκεν εχων την δυ
[ν]αμιν και την Ελατειαν

[κ]ατελαβεν ως ουδ αν
[ει] τι γενοιτο συνπνευ [
[σο]ντων ημων και [τ]ων
[Θ]ηβαιων αλ[λα] μην τον
[τοτε σ]υμβ̣α̣ντα θορυ [
[βον τη]ι̣ πολ[ει ι]σ̣τ̣ε μ̣ε̣ν̣
[απαντε]ς μικ[ρα] δ̣ α̣κ̣ο̣υ̣
[σαθ ο]μως τ̣[α α]ναγκαιο̣
[τατα εσπερα] μεν γαρ ην § 169
[ηκε δ αγγελλ]ω̣[ν] τ̣ι̣[ς] εις

4. *και*: om. MSS.
5. *βουλενεσθαι*: *βουλεύσασθαι περί* MSS. *περί* is indispensable.
9. l. *οισειν*.
11. After *προθέσεως* the MSS. add *ἔρρωσθε*.
12. *συτω . . . Φιλιππος*: *οὕτω . . . ὁ Φ.* MSS. For the marginal note cf. introd.
15. *ψηφισμα[σι]ν*: *ψ. καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν* MSS.
19. *συνπνευ[σο]ντων*: *ἔτι συμπνευσόντων* F vulg.; *ἔτι συμπνευσόντων ἄν* SLA, *ἔτι συμπνεισάντων ἄν* Elmsley, edd.
22–3. *σ]υμβαντα θορυ[βον τη]ι πολ[ει*: *συμβάντα τῇ πόλει θόρυβον* A, Blass, *συμβ. ἐν τῇ π. θ.* other MSS., Butcher.
24. *[απαντε]ς* (so MSS.) suits the lacuna better than *[παντε]ς* (Blass).
25. *τ[α α]ναγκαιο[τατα*: so Tiberius, Blass (*τἀναγκ.*); *ἀναγκαιότατα* first hands of SL, *αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκ.* vulg. and Butcher (*τἀναγκ.*).
27. *εις*: *ὡς* (*τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται*) MSS.

1378. DEMOSTHENES, *Contra Midiam.*

16 × 13·5 cm. Third century.

The upper part of a column, with the ends of a few lines from the column preceding, written in a medium-sized calligraphic hand of the biblical type. This style of script is now known to go back at least to the beginning of the third century (cf. **661**, P. Rylands 16), and the present specimen appears to represent a comparatively early stage in its development. A high stop occurs in l. 11. A diaeresis in l. 10 takes the form of a short horizontal stroke.

Though so carefully written the text is not distinguished by great accuracy, and errors in ll. 11 and 19 remain uncorrected. There is no variant of importance.

Col. i. Col. ii.

διαν απαντων των ε̄ § 153
τηι πολ[ει λα]μπροτα

		τον γεγενησθαι απο	
		κναιει γαρ αηδια δηπου	
		5 και αναισθησια καθ [εκα	
		στη[ν] τ[η]ν εκκλ[ησια]ν	
		ταυ[τα λ]εγων ει μ[ε]ντο[ι]	§ 154
		τι π[ο]τ εστι α λιτουργει	
		τηι [α]ληθειαι δει σκοπειν	
		10 εγω προς υμας ερω και	
		θεασ[α]σθε ως· και ως αυ	
. . . . .		τον εξετασω προς ε	
λιτουργια]ς	§ 151	μαυτον κρι[νω]ν ουτος	
[σκοπει δη μη τουτοις]		ω ανδρ[ε]ς Αθην[αι]οι γεγο	
[αυτον εξαιτησ]ηται		15 νως ετη περι πεντη	
[και ελαττω πο]λυ τηι		κοντ ισως η μεικρον	
5 [πολει καταθεις] η οσα		ελατ[τ]ον ουδεν εμου	
[σοι διδωσι καταγελα]		πλειους λιτουργιας υ	
[σηι εγω δε πρωτο]ν με	§ 152	μεν λελιτουργηκεν ος	
[ουδεν αγενν]ες υμω		20 δυο κ[αι τ]ριακοντα ετηι	
[καταγιγνωσκω] ουδ υ		γεγονα καγωι μεν κα	
10 [πολαμβανω τι]μησει		τ ε[κεινους	
. . . . .		. . . . .	

i. 3. The vestiges are doubtfully identified: *ἐξαιτήσηται* edd., *ἐξαιτήσεται* S and some others.

5. *οσα*: Blass wished to read *ὅσον*, with *ἔλαττον* for *ἐλάττω*.

ii. 11. *ως· και ως*: l. *ὡς δικαίως* with MSS

17. *ελατ[τ]ον*: so S, edd.; *ελάττω* other MSS. But *ελατ[ω]ι* is also a possible reading.

18. l. *υμειν*. The scribe made the slightly lengthened stroke of *ι*, but then seems to have inadvertently treated it as the first stroke of the *ν*.

1379. Livy, i.

14·3 × 10 cm. Late third century. Plate VI.

Livy so far has been represented in the papyri only by a portion of an epitome (668); now we have a fragment—unfortunately but a small one—from Book i of the historian himself. The present MS. resembles the epitome both in being in the form of a roll, and in the character of the script, which is of the mixed uncial style apparently prevalent in the provinces. A few differences are

to be recognized. Minuscule forms are more sparingly employed in 1379 than in 668; there are the usual *b* and *d*, but *m* is of the pure uncial shape, while *r* is in a state of transition between uncial and minuscule. The general resemblance, however, between the hands of the two papyri is so close that they must be of approximately the same date, and since 668 can be assigned with probability to about the end of the third century, 1379 may be referred with little hesitation to the same early period. Punctuation, which in 668 was not employed except with abbreviations, is here rather elaborate, medial and low dots being used for short pauses, and an angular mark in the high position for a more considerable interval (l. 6).

The fragment (cc. v. 6–vi. 1), so far as it goes, shows a correct text, but is too slight to give an insight into its quality or affinities.

[*gi*]*am venire pastoribu*[*s* v. 6
[*ad reg*]*em impetum facit* [
[*et a do*]*mo Numitoris alia* [
[*com*]*parata manu· adiuva*[*t*
[*Rem*]*us· ita regem optrun*
[*cat*]᾽ *N*[*u*]*mitor int*[*er*] *pri* [vi 1
[*mu*]*m t*[*u*]*multum hos*[*tes*
[*invasis*]*se u*[*r*]*bem at*[*que*
[*adortos reg*]*iam dict*[*itans*
[*cum pube*]*m Albanam* [*in*
[*arcem pra*]*esidio armis*[*que*
[*opti*]*nendam avocasset* [
[*postquam i*]*u*[*ve*]*nes per*[*petra*
[*ta caed*]*e pergere ad se g*[*ra*
tulantis uidit. extempl[*o*
[*advoca*]*to c*[*on*]*cilio. sce*[*le*
[*ra in se*] *fr*[*at*]*ris· orig*[*inem*
[*nepotum*] *ut geniti* [

5. *optrun*[*cat*]: the size of the lacuna is in favour of the singular, which is read by most of the best MSS.

13. The supplement at the end of the line is rather long in comparison with the others, but it would be rash to infer that the papyrus had some shorter word, e. g. *peracta*, instead of *perpetrata*.

16. *sce*[*le*|*ra*, not *sce*|[*lus* (M), is indicated by the spacing.

18. Above the vestiges of the supposed *u* there is a mark suggesting the top of an *o* or some other round letter. It does not look like an accident, but remains unexplained.

IV. GRAECO-EGYPTIAN LITERARY PAPYRI

1380. Invocation of Isis.

21·8 × 112·5 cm. Early second century.

The recto of this long and interesting papyrus contains an invocation (ἐπίκλησις) of the goddess Isis, the verso a somewhat analogous composition in praise of Imhotep-Asclepius (1381). As often happens with a roll that has been re-used, the surface of the recto has suffered considerably, and the ink is in many places very faint, rendering decipherment difficult, particularly in the later part where lacunae are more frequent. The twelve consecutive columns, each containing 22–8 lines, are written in a small semiuncial hand with a tendency to cursive forms in certain letters, especially *a* and ε. η is remarkable for its tall first stroke. Stops, usually in the high position and all having the same value, are common, and after one of these an initial letter is often enlarged. Diaereses are occasionally found, but no breathings or accents. Some corrections, chiefly due to misspellings of ει for ι or vice versa, have been inserted in an apparently different but probably contemporary hand, though not regularly nor always intelligently (cf. l. 120), besides a few insertions by the scribe himself, who was not very accurate. The handwriting of both recto and verso indicates a date not later than the second century, the recto probably having been written in the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, the verso under the Antonines.

The invocation falls into two sections, the first being concerned with the goddess in her well-known capacity of πολυώνυμος (cf. ll. 97 and 101) and giving an elaborate list of her titles in towns or nomes of Egypt (ll. 1–76), and then in towns, districts, or countries in other parts of the world (ll. 76–119). The second section begins with a continuation of similar complimentary titles (ll. 119–42) still governed by ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, which no doubt occurred at the lost beginning of the first section, and proceeds in ll. 142–298 to a long and somewhat disconnected prose hymn of praise addressed to the goddess, dealing with the various aspects of her divinity and power. Similar but much briefer invocations of Isis occur in Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. 5, P. Leyden U ii, and P. Brit. Mus. 121. 492–504, and the magical papyri contain numerous invocations of Hermes, who was sometimes regarded as the father of Isis, sometimes as her son (l. 39, note) or other kindred deities. 1380, however, is both earlier and on a higher level than the magical papyri, which mostly belong to the third or fourth centuries and

are of a more composite character, being largely concerned with spells. Since the papyrus itself dates from near the beginning of the second century, the composition of the invocation can hardly be placed later than in the first—a date supported by the evidence of some of the place-names, which suggest the period between Strabo and Ptolemy, contemporary with Pliny; cf. notes on ll. 21, 40, 70, 74, and 94. It is obviously based mainly on Egyptian documents such as those from which Brugsch (*Religion d. alt. Aeg.* 646–7; cf. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, ii. 276–8) collected the Egyptian titles of Isis, and resembles the hymns to Osiris in the *Book of the Dead*. A demotic papyrus at Cairo (Spiegelberg, *Catal.* no. 31169) contains a short list of the titles of Isis with those of other gods, preceded by a list of Delta towns. But though the Egyptian elements are strongly marked both in the general arrangement and many of the individual expressions, the invocation was no doubt composed in Greek, as is shown by the identification of Isis with e. g. Hellas (l. 95), φρόνησις (l. 44), and many Greek or non-Egyptian deities, the introduction of the Hellenic scheme of the universe with Olympus (l. 130), Lethe (l. 127), and the Dioscuri (l. 235), and the numerous parallels to Greek inscriptions and other evidence for Isis-worship in the eastern Mediterranean. As an important document written by an initiate, it ranks with the well-known inscriptions of Ios and Andros (C. I. G. xii. v, nos. 14 and 739; cf. Diod. i. 27), in which Isis speaks in the first person. When complete it must have been of considerable length, for the writing on the verso proceeds in the opposite direction to that on the recto, and while not much need be lost at the end of **1380**, since **1381**. i, though not the actual beginning, is certainly not far from it, there is reason to think that many columns preceded **1380**. i, for most of **1381** is the prelude to a narrative which only begins in l. 222 shortly before the papyrus breaks off. The list of Egyptian places which occupies **1380**. 1–76 only covers the Delta, but the towns of Upper Egypt on the same scale would not have taken up more than the three or four preceding columns, and what preceded these is unknown. Isis-worship appealed to the Greeks and Romans much more than any other branch of the Egyptian religion and, in addition to the account of Isis in Diod. i. 11–27, Plutarch's treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, Apuleius, *Metam.* xi, and other literary testimony, the archaeological evidence from statues, inscriptions, gems, coins, &c., is extensive; cf. Drexler in Roscher, *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.* ii. 373–548, Lafaye, *Hist. du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte.*

The various aspects under which Isis is regarded in **1380** may be classified under the following heads. First as to her name, Ἶσις occurs in l. 23 and often; more mysterious names ending in -ευ and resembling those found in magical papyri apparently occur in ll. 282, 286, and 296. Of her appellations derived

from the Egyptian Ἐσερέμφις (l. 46) is known from the recently discovered Theadelphia inscription, while Θαυῆστις in l. 68, Μοῦχις (?) in l. 45, Ὀνε[in l. 1,]αθροῖχις in l. 14, Ταχνῆψις in l. 75, and]χμεῦνις in l. 3 are new and may be compared to the titles Ἶσις Νεφρέμμις and Νεφορσῆς at Socnopaei Nesus. In places outside Egypt the titles Θαψ[ε?]ῦσις in l. 105 (among the Magi), Σαρκοῦνις in l. 119 (at Susa on the 'Red Sea'), Τ[. .]β[ί]α and Παλέντρα (?) in ll. 114–15 (Troad and Dindyma) are also probably foreign appellations like the Egyptian rather than names of distinct divinities. The remarkable titles Λατῖνα in l. 104 (Persia), and Ἑλλάς in l. 95 (Stratonos Pyrgos) testify to the strong hold which Isis-worship had taken upon the Graeco-Roman world. The syncretistic tendency of the age is well shown by the identification of Isis with various Graeco-Egyptian and foreign divinities, Aphrodite (i. e. Hathor) in l. 9 and often, Artemis in l. 84, Astarte in l. 116, Atargatis, a Syrian deity, in l. 100, Athena (i. e. Neith) in ll. 30 and 72, Bubastis in l. 4, Core in ll. 72 and 105, Dictynnis, a Cretan deity, in l. 82, Hecate in l. 113 (cf. ll. 84 τριφυής, 91 τριοδῖτις, and the references to the underworld in ll. 127 and perhaps 164), Helen in l. 112, Hera in l. 26 and often, Hestia in ll. 23 and 73, Io Sothis in ll. 143–4 (cf. l. 64, where she is also connected with Io in an obscure passage), Leto in l. 79, Maia in ll. 39, 42, 103, and 116, Nanai, an old Babylonian goddess, in l. 106, Praxidice in l. 50, and Themis in l. 83. Several of these identifications were known, but those with Artemis, Helen, Hestia, Leto, Maia, and the last two appear to be new.

Isis as πολύμορφος (ll. 9 and 70) was worshipped as a kind of combination of the divine, human, and animal elements. She is called θεός in ll. 77 and 107, θεά in l. 130, δία in ll. 26, 86, and 111, ἱερά in ll. 18, 41, 110, ἁγία in ll. 34, 36, 89, ἁγνή in l. 86, ἀμίαντος in l. 109, ἀβίβαστος in l. 115, τελεία in l. 32. The forms under which she often appears in art, as a cow, serpent, or with a vulture head-dress and wings, the symbol of motherhood, are illustrated by the titles in ll. 126–7 θεῶν πάντων τὸ καλὸν ζῷον, l. 107 ταυρῶπις, l. 58 ἀσπίς, l. 66 γυπόμορφος ; cf. the mention of her wings in ll. 219–20 and the institution of animal-worship ascribed to her in ll. 139–42, and ll. 159–63. The ordinary representations of her as a beautiful and youthful woman are indicated by the terms νέα in l. 85, νύμφη in l. 30, ὡραία in l. 90, καλλίμορφος in l. 54, καλλίστη in l. 100, χαριτόμορφος in l. 59. With regard to her power she is called παντοκράτειρα in l. 20, πάντων δεσπότις in l. 231, δεσπότις in l. 108, κρατίστη in l. 96, μεγίστη θεῶν in l. 142, μεγίστη in ll. 21, 92, and perhaps 66, μεγάλη in l. 77. As queen and ruler she appears as ἄνασσα τῆς οἰκουμένης in l. 121, ἄνασσα πόλεων in l. 57, and often as ἄνασσα simply, βασίλισσα in ll. 36 and 218, δυνάστις in ll. 34, 41, 57, and 97, κυρία πάσης χώρας in l. 24. As a warrior-goddess she is called στρατία in ll. 71, 83, 102, ἡγεμονίς in l. 52 (cf. l. 193)

στολαρχίς in l. 8, νικήτρια in ll. 30 and 48, ταχυνίκης in l. 69 ; cf. ll. 239–42, where she is said to overthrow tyrants, and l. 80 ἐλευθερία.

Of Isis as law-giver fifteen θεσμοί are alluded to in ll. 119–20 and two προστάγματα in ll. 155–7. Her foundation of νόμιμα is described in ll. 203–5 and of θρήσκια in ll. 244–5. As saviour or benefactress she is called σώτειρα in ll. 91 and 293, ἀνδροσώτειρα in l. 55, σώζουσα in l. 76, δότειρα in ll. 13 and 68, χαριτοδότειρα in l. 10, ἀρίστη in l. 99, ἀγαθή in ll. 51, 59, 95, ἠπία in ll. 11 and 86 (cf. l. 155), πρόνοια in l. 43 ; cf. ll. 155–7 and 246–7. ὀρθωσία in ll. 39 and 98 probably refers to help in childbirth. Her son Horus is εὐεργέτης καὶ ἀγαθός (ll. 246–7). Her identification with Abundance and Fortune is referred to in ll. 51 τύχη, 88 πανάφθονος, 99 εὐπλέα, 134–5 τῶν τὰς καλὰς ἀγόντων ἡμέρας εὐθηνία. Increase and decay were regulated by her (ll. 174–7, 194–6). In particular she was the goddess of seas and rivers and protectress of sailors and travellers, as is shown by ll. 61 πελάγους κυρία, 69 κυβερνῆτις, 15 and 74 ὁρμίστρια ; cf. the more detailed description in ll. 121–3. The Nile was her special charge (ll. 125–6), with which river are coupled in ll. 222–6 the Eleutherus and Ganges. As champion and model of the female sex she is said in ll. 214–16 to have given women power equal to that of men, and in ll. 129–32 to be ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ θεὰ εὐπρεπής, κόσμος θηλειῶν καὶ φιλόστοργος (cf. l. 12), providing sweetness in assemblies. She was the goddess of truth (l. 63 ἀλήθεια) and love (ll. 109 ἀγάπη θεῶν, 28 ἀγάπ[η, 94 φιλία, 137 μισεχθής). The sorrows of Isis are well known, but in **1380** she is rather the goddess of joy, as is shown by her titles εὐφροσύνη in ll. 19 and 31, ἐν Λήθῃ ἱλαρὰ ὄψις in ll. 127–8, and by the gladness which she affords to the gods and her votaries (ll. 131–5, 157–9, 161–3, and 178–9). The invention, jointly with Hermes, of demotic writing, which is claimed by Isis in the Ios Inscr. 6–8, is alluded to in the title γραμματική in ll. 48 and 123, and λογιστική in ll. 27 and 124 perhaps refers to the discovery of arithmetic. She is also credited with the invention of weaving (ll. 145–6) and wine (ll. 179–83) ; cf. the more general phrases ἐπίνοια in ll. 34 and 60, φρόνησις in l. 44, φρονίμη in ll. 117 and 124, κεδνή in l. 79, εὑρέτρια in l. 81, and the account of Isis as εὑρέτρια πάντων in ll. 183–6. She is identified with the moon (l. 104), and the sun (ἡλίου ὄνομα in l. 112) ; cf. ll. 157–9, where she is said to bring the sun, and 221–2 and 232–4, two mutilated passages referring to Horus in connexion with the sun. With the stars she is connected in ll. 159–61 and in l. 235, where the Dioscuri are mentioned ; cf. Io Sothis in ll. 143–4. The institution of the year of 365 days seems to be ascribed to her (ll. 153–5 and 204–5). As goddess of the sky (ll. 144–5) and light (ll. 248–9, 295), she regulated winds, lightning, snow, rain, and especially dew (ll. 172–4, 227–30, 237–9). A curious phrase πιστοῖασπις ἀνέμου καὶ ζῳῆς διάδημα (ll. 138–9 ; cf. ll. 193–4) is perhaps derived from the Egyptian, like ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι βόστρυχος in l. 133 and τῶν

θεῶν Ἁρποκράτις in ll. 135–6. She was especially the goddess of immortality (l. 13), which she conferred upon her husband and brother Osiris (ll. 242–3) and her son Horus (ll. 246–7). Her recovery and burial of the former are mentioned in ll. 186–9, and her appointment of Horus as successor of Osiris in ll. 209–14, 250–2, and 263–8. As the goddess of mysteries she is called μύστις (l. 111) and χρησμῳδός (l. 43), and is seen by her votaries (ll. 152–3). Temples of Isis were appointed by her in all cities (ll. 202–3), as is illustrated not only by ll. 1–119, but by special references to shrines or ceremonies at Busiris (ll. 269–71), Ὀσίριδος ἄδυτον (ll. 161–3), Memphis (249), Heracleopolis (150–2), Abydos (l. 278), and an unknown town H[. .]κτος (ll. 148–9). In the processions (ἐξοδίαι) of the gods she took the chief part (ll. 136–7), being leader of the muses (ll. 62 and 128). She was all-seeing (παντόπ[τις] in l. 93, κατόπτις in l. 87, πολυόφθαλμος in l. 129). Other noteworthy titles, most of which are new as applied to Isis, are τὸ ἄνω in ll. 38 and 42, ἀπάτειρα in l. 19, ἄφεσις ἐφόδων in l. 80, λωτοφόρος in l. 40, μία in l. 6, πρῶτον ὄνομα in l. 143, and στείχουσα in l. 87. Uncertain titles occur in ll. 7, 17, 25–9, 31, and 47, and much of the last four columns is obscure, Col. xii having only the beginnings of lines.

The detailed list of places in which Isis was worshipped naturally adds much to the extant evidence on the subject (cf. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 190, Lanzone, *Diz. di mitol. egiz.* 813), and incidentally provides some valuable geographical information concerning the Delta, since the grouping of the places is more or less systematic. The section dealing with Upper Egypt is almost entirely lost, the first place mentioned being Aphroditopolis (l. 1) or some other town in the vicinity of Memphis, which in l. 2 is called by its old Egyptian name 'the House of Hephaestus' (Ptah). Proceeding northward along the main western branch of the Nile past Letopolis (l. 6) and the Prosopite nome (l. 8) to Naucratis (l. 19) and the Gynaecopolite nome (l. 21), the list turns eastward to Buto (l. 27), the Saïte nome (ll. 30–2), and the northern part of the central Delta (ll. 33–7), then southwards to Bubastus (l. 37), Heliopolis (l. 38), and Athribis (l. 39). Again proceeding northward through the Phthemphuthite nome (l. 40) to Xoïs (l. 42), the list then shifts across to places in the Libyan nome far west of Alexandria (ll. 43–5), then back to Phagroriopolis in the eastern Delta (l. 46) and other places in that quarter up to Tanis (l. 59). The coast east and west of Alexandria occupies ll. 60–73, Pelusium and the extreme north-east ll. 73–6, after which the list turns to places outside Egypt. Besides a few nomes, about sixty-seven Delta towns are mentioned, including most of those found in Strabo or Ptolemy and several which were only known from Stephanus Byzantinus or the Geographus Ravennas and can now be located more definitely (ll. 15 Psochemis, 16 Mylon, 41 Teouchis, 69 Peucestis), and several that were previously

unknown (ll. 11 Calamisis and Carene, 13 Hierasus, 17 Ce.. culemis (?), 22 Pephremis (= Papremis ?), 31 Caene, 40 Hiera, 47 Choatine, 54 Isidium, 64 Meniouis, 70 Melaïs, 71 Menouphis; cf. ll. 4, 25, 31, and 66 where the names are new but uncertain). Alexandria is not mentioned, though a great Isis-temple there is known from **35** recto. 13. Perhaps the metropolis is accounted for by the mention of 'the Island', if that of Pharos is meant (l. 68, note), or it occurred without regard to its geographical position at the beginning of the list, which may, however, well have begun with Philae, or possibly the list was based on an ancient Egyptian one made before Alexandria was founded.

The fifty-five places outside Egypt are naturally for the most part familiar, and are arranged with less regard to geography. Beginning in l. 77 with Arabia, Asia Minor (ll. 78–81), Cyrene, Crete, Chalcedon, and Rome (ll. 81–3), Aegean islands (ll. 84–5), Cyprus (ll. 86–9) and some other places which for various reasons cannot be located with certainty (ll. 89–92; Hypsele in l. 92 is unknown), the list goes back to the frontier of Egypt and Palestine and mentions several towns on or near the Syrian coast (ll. 93–9; Sinope in l. 96 is out of place here). Then come Delphi (l. 99) and a rather mixed series of towns and countries including the Amazons (l. 102), India (l. 103), Persia (ll. 104–6), and Italy (l. 109), the Hellespont and coast of the Aegean (ll. 110–15), Syria again (ll. 116–17), and finally an unknown Susa on the 'Red Sea' (ll. 118–19).

Altogether the papyrus, in spite of its imperfect condition, supplies a fairly comprehensive and vivid picture of Isis-worship in the first century when that Graeco-Egyptian cult had become a world-force. It is an intentionally archaic kind of composition, as is clear on comparison with **1381**, which, though also a composition in praise of a Graeco-Egyptian deity and professing to be concerned primarily with the translation of a hieroglyphic roll, is much more Greek than Egyptian in character and style, illustrating the rapid decline of ancient Egyptian influences, even in matters of religion, under the Romans. The author of **1380** was no doubt a priest of Isis, possibly at Oxyrhynchus, where Isis had a separate temple (**43** verso. ii. 16), but more probably at Memphis, which not only is dignified by an unusual name in l. 2 (cf. p. 203), and singled out in l. 249, but affords a connecting link with the text on the verso; cf. **1381**, introd.

In the text the high stops represent those in the original, the commas are inserted by us. For assistance in connexion with the ancient Egyptian evidence concerning Isis and Imhotep-Asclepius we are indebted to Mr. F. Ll. Griffith and with regard to Alexandrian coins to Mr. J. G. Milne.

Col. i.

[τὴν ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ?] πόλει Ὀνε-
[. . . . . · τὴν ἐν τῷ] Ἡφαίστου οἴκῳ
[14 letters]χμεῦνιν· τὴν
[ἐν 12 letters]ο̣φει Βούβασ-
[τιν, ... κ]αλουμένην· τὴν
[ἐν Λητ]ο̣ῦς [π]ό̣[λε]ι [τῇ] μεγάλῃ μίαν,
[. . . . .]ιον· τὴν ἐν Ἀφροδίτης πό-
[λει το]ῦ Προσωπ[ί]του στολαρχεί-
[δα,] πολύμορφον, Ἀφροδίτην· τὴν
[ἐ]πὶ τοῦ Δέλτα χαριτοδώτειραν·
[ἐ]ν Καλαμίσι ἠπίαν· ἐν τῇ Καρή-
[ν]ῃ φιλ[ό]στοργον· ἐν τῇ Νεικίου
[ἀ]θάνα⟨το⟩ν, δότειραν· ἐν τῷ Ἱεράσῳ
[. . . . .]αθροῖχιν· ἐν Μωμέμ-
[φι ἄνασ]σαν· ἐν Ψωχήμει [δ]ρμίσ-
[τριαν]· ἐν Μύλωνι ἄ̣ν̣α̣σ̣[σα]ν· τὴν
[ἐν] Κε . . κυλήμι [. .]τ̣ην· τὴν ἐν
[Ἑρ]μ̣ο̣[ῦ π]όλει καλλίμορφον, ἱεράν·
[τὴ]ν ἐν Ναυκράτει ἀ̣π̣άτειραν, εὐφρο-
[σύ]νην, σώτειραν, παντοκράτειραν,
[μ]εγίστην· ἐν Ν̣[ι]θίνῃ τοῦ Γυναικο-
[πο]λείτου Ἀφροδείτην· ἐν Πεφρή-
[μι] Ἶσιν, ἄνασσαν, Ἑστίαν, [[ανασσαν]]
[κυ]ρείαν πάσης χώρας· [[την εν Χνου]]

Col. ii.

τὴν ἐν Ε̣ρ̣[. . . . .] . [. . . . .]ν,
Ἥρ̣α̣ν, δία̣[ν, ...]υ̣[. . . . . ·] ἐ̣ν
Β̣ο̣υ̣τῷ λο̣[γιστικήν, ...· ἐ]ν
Θ̣ώ̣νι ἀγάπ̣[ην . . . . .].ω χρό̣-
νῳ καὶ ἀγω̣[.] . [. . . . .].η̣ν· ἐν
τ̣ῷ̣ Σ̣α̣ϊ̣τ̣ῃ ν̣[ι]κ̣ή̣τ̣[ριαν, Ἀ]θήνην, νύμφην·
ἐν Ν̣ηβε̣ρ̣[. . . . .] . [.]ι̣ν· ἐν Καινῇ εὐ-
φροσύνην[· ἐ]ν Σ̣ά̣ι Ἥραν, ἄνασ⟨σ⟩αν, τε-
λείαν[·] ἐν Ἰ[σείῳ Ἶσ]ιν· ἐν Σεβεννύ-
τῳ ἐπί[νοιαν, δυ]ν̣ά̣στιν, Ἥραν, ἀ-
γίαν[·] ἐ̣[ν] Ἐ[ρ]μ̣ο̣ῦ πόλει Ἀφρ[ο]δείτην,
βασ[ί]λειστ̣σαν, ἀγε]ί̣α̣ν· ἐν Δειὸς π[ό]-
λει τῇ μεικ[ρᾷ] ἄ̣ν̣α̣σ̣⟨σ⟩αν· ἐν Βουβά-
στῳ τὸ ἄνω· ἐ̣ν̣ Ἡλίου π[όλ]ει Ἀφρ[ο]-
δίτην· ἐν Ἀ[θ]ρ̣ί̣β̣[ι] Μ̣α̣ῖ̣α̣ν, ὀρθωσίαν· ἐν
Ἰερᾷ Φθεμφ[θ]ο̣ύ̣[τ]ο̣υ λω̣[τ]ο̣φόρον· ἐν
Τεούχι ἱερά̣ν, δυνά̣στ̣ειν· ἐν τοῖς
Βουκολεῦσι Μ̣α̣[ῖ]α̣ν· ἐν Ξόι τ̣[ὸ] ἄνω,
χρησμῳδό[ν]· ἐν Καταβαθμῷ πρ[ό]-
νοιαν· ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄπεως φρόνησιν[·]
ἐπὶ Λευκῆς Ἀκ̣τ̣ῆ̣ς Ἀφροδ̣ε̣ί̣τ̣η̣ν, Μ̣ο̣ῦ̣-
χιν, Ἐσερέμ̣φ̣[ι]ν̣· ἐν Φραγούρων πό-
λε[ι . . . . .]φιν[·] ἐν Χοατείνῃ

3. μ of]χμευνιν above the line. 10. ι of [ε]πι and χαρι- above ει deleted. 1. χαριτοδότειραν. 11. First ι of καλαμισι above ει deleted. 13. τ of δοτειραν corr. from ρ. 15. ι of [ο]ρμισ[τριαν above ει deleted. 21. θι of ν[ι]θινη above the line. 23. ϊσιν Π. ι of εστιαν above ει deleted. 30. ω of τω above the line (?). 34. ι of δυ]ναστιν above ει deleted. 34–5. ι of αγιαν above ει (deleted ?). 39. β[ι] of α[θ]ρι̣β[ι] above the line, and αι of μαιαν above ε (deleted ?).

Col. iii.

νεικήτ̣ρ̣[ιαν· ἐν . . . . . γ]ραμ-
ματε[ικ]ῆ̣[ν, ... · ἐν Κυνὸς] πόλει
τοῦ Β̣ο̣υ̣[σε]ι̣[ρε]ί̣τ̣[ο]υ Πραξ[ι]δ̣[ί]κ̣[η]ν·

Col. iv.

βερνῆτιν· ἐν Μελαΐδι πολύμο[ρ-
φον· ἐν Μ̣[ε]νούφι στρ̣[α]τ̣ί̣α̣ν̣[· ἐν
Μετηλείτῃ Κ[ό]ρην· ἐπὶ Χάρακος [Ἀ-

ἐν Βουσείρει τύχην, ἀγαθήν· ἐν
Ἑρμοῦ π[ό]λε[ι] τοῦ Μενδησίου ἡ-
γεμονί[δ]α· ἐν Φαρβαίθῳ καλ-
λίμορφ[ο]ν· ἐν τῷ Ἰσιδίῳ τοῦ Σε-
θροΐτου ἀνδρασώτειραν· ἐν
Ἡρακλέ[ους] πόλει τοῦ Σεθροΐτου
δυνάστι[ν·] ἐν Φερνο[ύ]φι ἄνασσαν
πόλεων[·] ἐν Λε[ο]ντωπόλει ἀσ-
πίδα, ἀγ[α]θήν· ἐν Τάνι χαρειτό-
μορφον, Ἥρ[α]ν· ἐ[πὶ] Σχεδίας ἐπί-
νοιαν· ἐ[π]ὶ τ[ο]ῦ Ἡρακλίου πελάγους
κυρείαν[·] ἐ[ν] Κανώβῳ μουσανα-
γωγόν· ἐν Μεν[ο]ύθι ἀλήθιαν· [ἐ]ν
Μεν[ι]ούει Ἰοῦς ᾗ κτίζεται π[. . .] .
[.]μερεί[α]ς προκαθημέν[η]ν· ἐπὶ τοῦ
Μ[. .]νεστίου μεγίστου γυπόμορ-
φον, Ἀφροδ[εί]την· ἐν Ταποσίρι
Θαυῆστιν, Ἥρ[α]ν, δώτειραν· ἐν τῇ Νή-
σῳ ταχυν[ί]κην· ἐν Πευκεστίδι κυ-
θήνην· ἐν Πλινθίνῃ Ἑστίαν· ἐν [
Πηλουσίῳ ὁρμίστριαν· ἐπὶ το[ῦ
Κασίου Ταχνῆψιν· ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐκ-
{κ}ρή⟨γ⟩ματο[ς] Ἶσιν, σώζουσαν· ἐν τῇ
Ἀραβίᾳ μεγάλην, θεόν· ἐν τῇ [Νή-
σῳ ἱερωνικοτελοῦσαν· ἐν Λυκίᾳ
Λητώ· ἐν Μύροις τῆς Λυκίας κεδνήν,
ἐλευθε[ρί]αν· ἐν Κνίδῳ ἄφεσιν ἐφ[ό-
δων, εὐ[ρ]έτριαν· ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἶσιν·
ἐν Κρήτῃ Δικτυννίν· ἐν Χαλκῃ[δ]ό-
νι Θέμιν· ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατίαν[· ἐν
ταῖς Κυκλά[σ]ι νήσοις τριφυήν, Ἄρ-
τεμειν· ἐν [Π]άθμῳ νέα, μ . [.]ι[. .-
κη· ἐν Πάφῳ ἁγνήν, δίαν, ἠπίαν[· ἐν
Χίῳ στ[ί]χουσαν· ἐν Σαλαμεῖνι κα-
τόπτιν· ἐν Κύπρῳ παν[άφθο-
ν[ο]ν[·] ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδίκῃ [ἀ]γίαν· ἐν
τῇ Πιερί[α] ὡραίαν[·] ἐν τ[ῇ] Ἀσ[[ε]]ίᾳ [
τριοδεῖτιν· ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας σώ-
τειραν· ἐν Ὑψήλῃ μεγίστην·

54–5. σεθροϊτου Π. 58. l. Λεοντοπόλει or Λεόντω⟨ν⟩ πόλει. 68. l. δότειραν. 69–70. ι of κυβερνητιν above ει deleted. 73. ι of εστιαν above ει deleted. 76. ϊσιν Π. 78. ϊερωνικ. Π. l. ἱερονικ. 80. ε of εφ[ο]δων rewritten. 85–6. l. νέαν, . . . κην· . . . δίαν, ἠπίαν.

Col. v.

ἐν Ῥεινοκορούλοις παντόπ[τιν·
ἐν Δώροις φιλίαν· ἐν Σ̣τ̣ρ̣[άτω]ν̣[ος
Πύργῳ Ἑλλάδα, ἀγαθήν[·] ἐν
Ἀσκάλῳ κρατίστην· ἐν Σινώ-
πῃ πολυώνυμον· ἐν Ῥαφέᾳ δυ-
νάστιν· ἐν Τριπόλει ὀρθωσίαν· ἐν
Γάζῃ εὐπλέαν· ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀρίσ-
{σ}την, καλλίστην· ἐν Βανβύκῃ Ἀ-
ταργάτει· ἐν Θρᾷξι [κ]ἀν Δήλῳ πο-
λυώνυμον· ἐν Ἀμάζοις στρατί-

Col. vi.

τάρτην· ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι φρονίμ[ην·
ἐν Σούσοις τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρ[ὰν θά-
λασσαν Σαρκοῦνιν[·] ἢ καὶ ἐν τοῖ[ς] δε-
κάπαντι θεσμοῖς ἑρμηνεύεις πρώτ[ισ]τα
ἄνασσα τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἐπίτρο-
πον καὶ ὁδηγὸν θαλασ⟨σ⟩ίων καὶ ποτα-
μίων στομάτων κυρίαν· γραμμα-
τεικήν, λογιστικήν, φρον[ί]μην·
τὴν καὶ τὸν Νῖλον ἐπὶ π[ᾶσ]αν χώραν
ἐπανάγουσαν[·] θεῶν πάντων τὸ

αν· ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Μαῖαν· ἐν Θεσσαλοῖς
σελήνην· ἐν Πέρσαις Λατείνην· ἐν
Μάτοις Κόρην, Θαψ[ε?]ῦσιν· ἐν Σού-
σοις Ναν̣ίαν· ἐν Φοίνικι Συρ[[ε]]ίας
θεός· ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ ταυρῶπις·
ἐν Περγάμῳ δεσπότις· ἐ[ν] Πόντῳ
ἀμίαντος· ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἀ[γά]πην θε-
ὼν· ἐν Σάμῳ ἱεράν· ἐν Ἑλλη[σπ]όν-
τῳ μύστειν· ἐ[ν] Μύνδῳ δί[α]ν· ἐν
Βειθυνείᾳ Ἑλένην· ἐν Τ[ε]νέδῳ ἡ-
λίου ὄνομα· ἐν Καρίᾳ Ἑκά[τ]ην· ἐν
Τρῳάδι κἀν Δινδύμῃ Τ[. .]β[ι]αν,
Παλέντρᾳ[ν], ἀβείβαστ̣ο[ν, Ἶσ]ιν·
ἐν Βηρυτῷ Μεαν· ἐν Σειδῶνι Ἀσ-
καλὸν ζῷον· τὴν ἐν Λ[ή]θῃ ἱλα-
ρὰν ὄψιν· τὴν μουσαναγωγόν·
τὸν πολ{ο}νόφθαλμ[ο]ν[·] τὴν ἐν
Ὀλύνπῳ θεὰν εὑπρ[ε]πήν[·] κόσμον
θηλειῶν καὶ φιλόστ[ορ]γον[·] τὴν ἐν
ταῖς συνόδοις ἡδίας εὐπορίαν·
τὴν ἐν ταῖς πανη[γ]ύρεσιν βό[σ]τρυ-
χον· τῶν τὰς καλὰς ἀγόντων
ἡμ[έ]ρας εὐθηνίαν[·] τὴν τῶν θεῶν
Ἁρποκράτιν· τὴν ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν
ἐξοδίαις πάνταρχον, μ̣ισ̣εχθ[ή]ν·
πιστοῖ̣ασπιν ἀνέμου καὶ ζωι-
ῆς διάδημα· ἐξ ἧς αἱ εἰκόνε[ς] κα[ὶ]
τὰ ζῷα πάντων τῶν θεῶν τ̣[οῦ

102. l. Ἀμαζόσι. 103. ἴνδοις Π. αι of μαιαν above ε deleted. 104. Above ε of περσαις α (?) deleted. 105. l. Μάγοις. θ of θαψ[ε]υσιν corr. from τ (?). 106. ι of ναναν above ᾳ deleted. 107. θεος. Π.; l. θεόν, . . . ταυρῶπιν. 108. l. δεσπότιν. 109. ι of αμιαντος. above ει deleted; l. -τον. 111. ν of μυνδω corr. 113. l. Ἑκα[τ]ην. 116. l. Μαῖαν. 120. ι of -παντι above ει deleted. l. δεκάπεντε. ευεις of ερμηνευεις above the line. 124. First ι of λογιστικην above ει deleted. 129. l. τήν for τον. 130. l. Ὀλύμπῳ. 137. ι of μισεχθ[η]ν above ει (?).

Col. vii.

ὀνόματος σοῦ λ̣ . ρ̣ατιαπρ[. . . . . .
ας ἔχοντα προσκυνῖται[·] κ[υρ]ίᾳ Ἶσι, μ[ε-
γίστη θεῶν, πρῶτον ὄνομα, Ἰοῖ
Σῶθι· τὸ μεταίωρον κρατεῖς κ[αὶ
ἀμ[έ]τρητον⟨·⟩ ἐ[πι]νοεῖς καὶ τὰ [.] . ν̣[. -
θωτα ὑφῆναι· σὺ καὶ τὰς σῴα[ς γυ-
ναῖκας ἀνδράσι συνορμισθ[ῆν]αι
θέλις· οἱ πρέσβεις ἅπαντες ἐ[ν] Η̣[. .
κτω θ⟨ύ⟩ουσι· νέαι ἄπασαι αἱ . . [. . .] . ε-
[. .]σαι ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλει φ[έρ]ονται ἐπὶ σοῦ καὶ ἔκτισαν σοὶ τὴν
χώραν· ὁρῶσι σὲ οἱ κατὰ τὸ πιστὸν
ἐπικαλούμενοι· ἐξ ὧν ἐ[.] . δ̣[. .] κατὰ ἀ-
ρετὴν τῶν συνεστηκυιῶν ἡμε-

Col. viii.

νο̣[ν]τ̣αι⟨·⟩ τ̣ὰ σὰ ο̣ . . . [. . . . . .
μ̣ . [. .] . ο̣ρτναι· τὸ σοῦ [. . . . . .
τ̣[. . .] . . . . . κ̣α̣σ̣ . νο̣υ̣βαν δ̣[ι]α̣
. . . [. .] . ρ̣ . [.]ν̣· ἀ̣π̣έ̣δ̣ε̣ι̣ξ̣[α]ς τ̣ο̣ . κ̣α̣ι
[. . . .] . . [. .]π̣α̣ν̣[. . . .] . . . . [[. .]]η
. . [. .] . καὶ τὴν γῆν σπορίμην
[. .] . . ασα[.] ἅπαντα τὸν βίον
[. .] . [.] . [.] . . [. . . .] . π̣α̣ν̣ταχῆ
τ̣ε̣λ . . κ̣ . . . . [ἐ]π̣ι̣ν̣ο̣ο̣ῦσα τ̣ὴν δρό-
σ̣ο̣ν̣[·] καὶ τὰ . . . [.]μενα πάντα[·] καὶ
φθορὰν οἷς θέλις δίδοις, τοῖς δὲ
καθεφθαρμένοις αὔξησιν δί-
δ̣[οις,] κ̣α̣ὶ ἅπαντα δ̣[ια]καθαίρεις·
π̣ᾶ̣σ̣α̣ν ἡμ̣έ̣ρ̣[αν] τ̣ῇ εὐφροσύνῃ κα-

ρῶν τξε· ἠπείᾳ ϙοῦ καὶ εὐδιάλ-
λακτος ἡ χάρις τῶν δ[ύ]ο προσ-
ταγμάτων[·] ἥλιον ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς
μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρ[ι]ς κ[αὶ] ὅλοι
εὐφραίνονται[ι ο]ἱ θεοί· ἄστρ[ω]ν ἀ-
νατολαῖς σὲ ἀκάματοι προσκυνοῦσιν
οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ζῷ-
α ἐν τῷ Ὀσίριδος ἀδύτῳ, ἱλαροὶ γεί-
νονται ὅταν σὲ[[ν]] ὀνομάσωσιν·
οἱ . [. .] δ[α]ίμονες ὑπήκοοι σοὶ [γ]ί-
τ[ε]δις· σὺ κ[.] . [.]α[. .]α εὑροῦσα
οἶνου πᾶν τὸ . [.] . [.]α[.] παρέσχες [[. .]]
πρῶτον ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν πα-
νηγύρισιν ἐπ . . . [.]τα καὶ εὐ-
χεαις καὶ ἐπικαν . . [. .·] σὺ πάντων
ὑγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν καὶ ψ[υχ]ρῶν· ἐξ ὧν
ἅπαντα συνέστηκεν[·] εὑρέτρια
π[ά]ντων ἐγενήθης[·] σὺ τὸν ἀδελ-
φόν σο[υ ἐπα]νή[γ]αγες μόνη κυβερ-
νήσασα καλῶς καὶ εὐαρμόστως
θάψασα[· σὺ τοῦ ἀγ]αθοῦ δαίμονος

142. μ of μ[ε]γιστη above οι (?) deleted. 143. ῖοι Π. 144. l. μετέωρον. 145. Second ε of ε[πι]νοεις above the line. 146–7. κα of γυ]ναικας corr. 151. ι of επι and εκτισαν above ει deleted. 152. ρ of ορωσι above π deleted and ι above the line. 153. δ (or δ[.]) above the line. 161. ῖερα Π. 164. ῦπηκοοι Π. 176. l. κατεφθαρμένοις. 181. l. πανηγύρεσιν. 182. ο of]τοα above ρ deleted. 182–3. l. εὐχαῖς (?). 184. ν of ψ[υχ]ρων above the line.

Col. ix.

κ . [
σι[. . . . . .] . υ . ρ[. . . . . .
α . [. . . . . .] πόλει κα[. .] .
κ[.] . [. . . . . .]ηύξησας· ἡ[γ]ε-
μ[ο]νὶς δι[αδημάτων· αὐ[ξ]ήσε[ως
καὶ φθορᾶς κα[ὶ . . .]ήσεως κ[αὶ .] . . ἡ[σε-
ως κυρία· σὺ τοῦ πα . . ν[. .] τα-
φῆς κ[. .]αναγ . [. . .] . ια[·] σὺ [. . .] .
αστω . . . . Ὀσιρ[. .] π . . . ν . [. . . .
καὶ . . [. .] . . . [. .]τα ἐστιν ἐ[. . . .
σας〈·〉 σὺ τὰ πάντα . . . μ . . [. . . .
καὶ τὰ πάντα πρὸς δια . ο . . [. . .]ρ[. .
σας· Ἰσεῖα πάσαι[ς] πόλεσιν εἰς τὸν [ἅπαν-
τα χρόνο[ν κατ]έσ[τ]ησας· κ[αὶ π]ᾶσ[ιν]
τὰ νόμιμα κ[αὶ ἐ]νιαυτὸν τέλι[ον π]α-
ρέδωκας[·] κ[αὶ . . .] . αφωνα πᾶσι ο . . . [.
σε[.]ει[.] . α κ[ατὰ ἅ]παντα τόπον[·] ἐν
πάντει τὸ π[. . . .] ἔδιξας πρὸς τὸ ἰ-

Col. x.

ησας· κα[ὶ ἐν τῷ] ἀδύτῳ η[. . .]ονη-
σας ἔθνη [15 letters]ορα
αιν[.] . s βασίλισσα ηρ . [.] . . . ν[. . .]νη
κυρία
π[ρ]οελοῦσα πᾶσαν χώραν [. . . σ]οῦ
τ[αῖ]ς πτέρυξ[ι]ν· υ . . . [.] . τ[. . .]μον
ἐστιν· τὸ κ[.]ρ[.]ς δ ὑφέστη[κε . .] . ε ἥλιον
Ὥρ[. .] α[. . . .]υτον[· σ]ὺ τῆ[ς] γῆ[ς κυ]ρία
α . ρ[. . . . πλή]μμυραν ποταμῶν
τ[.] . . [.] . [. . . .]η ἄγεις· καὶ τοῦ ἐν Αἰ-
γύπτῳ Νε[ίλο]υ, ἐ[ν δ]ὲ Τριπόλι Ἐλευθέ-
ρου, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰνδικῇ Γάγγου· καὶ {το}
δι' ἣν τὸ πᾶν κ[αὶ τ]ὸ ἐνκερ . . ν ἐστιν διὰ
πάν-
τος ὄμβρου καὶ πά[σ]ης πηγῆς καὶ πά-
[σ]ης δρόσου κα[ὶ χι]όνος καὶ πά-
σης λ[.]σε[ω]ς κα[ὶ γ]ῆς καὶ θαλάσσης[·]
σὺ καὶ πάντων δεσπότις ἰσαεί·

δέν̣αι πάν̣[τας ἀ]νθρώπους ὅτι σ̣ὺ
[.]α̣ν̣ . ουνα̣[. . .] . α̣ρα σοῦ· σὺ τὸν νί-
ὸν σ̣[ο]υ̣ Ὧρον Ἀπ̣ό̣λ̣λ̣ωνα[[ν]] π̣[α]ντῆ κύρι-
ον ν̣έ̣ο̣ν̣ τ̣ο̣[ῦ πά]ν̣τος κόσμου καὶ
α̣π̣ . . . . κ̣[. . . .] . ν̣ [[π̣α̣σ̣α̣ν̣]] [. . . τ]ὴν
α̣ . . . . . λην [πᾶ]σαν· εἰς τὸν ἅπ̣[αντα]
χρό-
νον [κ]ατέστησας· σὺ γυναιξ̣ὶ[ν]
ἴσην δύναμιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐ[ποί-
τ . [. .] . . ξ̣[.]α̣ς πά̣ντα̣ς τοῦ π̣όλου
τὸν . [.]ε̣ο̣ν Ὧρον ε̣ἰ̣ς ἥλιον . [.] . [. .] .
. . [.]οτ[.]ν πλεῖον χώραν πᾶν Ὧρος[·]
σ̣[ὺ] Δι̣ο̣σκού̣[ρ . . . .]ω . . ρ̣ . ἐποίησας·
σ̣α̣[. . . . .] κατα . ο̣ν̣[. .] τροφῆ̣ς π̣ᾶν
. ο . [. . .]ρ̣[.]ω̣ν ηὔξη[σα]ς· σὺ ἀνέμων
κα[ὶ βρ]ο̣ν̣τ̣ῶ̣ν̣ καὶ ἀστραπῶν καὶ
χει̣ό̣νων τὸ κράτος ἔχεις· σὺ στρα-
τείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας κυρία τοὺς εὐ-
κόπως διαφθείρεις πιστοῖς βου-
λεύμασιν· σὺ τὸν μέγαν [Ὄ]σιριν
ἀθάνα̣το[ν ἐποί]η[σ]α̣[ς] . [. . . . . .

202. ἴσεια Π. ε of πολεσιν corr. from υ (?) and ε of εις above the line. 206. α of] . α above the line. 208. ι of οτι above ει deleted. 213. ε of εις above the line. 215. ἴσην Π. 218. αι in the margin.]νη above the line. 221. ὔφεστη[Π. ε before ηλιον above the line. 226. ου of γαγγου corr. 227. δι ην in the margin and το above the line. 232. υ πολου above five deleted letters. 237. ο of . ο . [above the line. 239–40. Second ε of εχεις and ε of στρατειας above the line. l. τοὺς ⟨τυράννους⟩; cf. p. 220. 241. ε of διαφθειρεις above the line in both cases.

Col. xi.

καὶ πάσῃ χώρᾳ τ̣[.] . τ̣[. . . . . πα-
ρ̣έ̣δ̣ωκας θρήσκ̣[ι]α̣ [. . . . . .
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ὧρ̣[ον] τ̣[.] . [. . . .]ος εὐ-
εργέτην γενάμ̣ε[νον] καὶ ἀγαθόν·
σὺ κ̣[α]ὶ φωτὸς κα[ὶ] φλ̣[ε]γμάτων κυ-
ρία· σὺ ἐν Μέμ[φ]ι̣ . [.] . [.]ε̣[ι]ς [ἄ]δυ̣τ̣ο̣ν·
Ὧρος προκρίνας ὅ̣τ̣[ι] ἐ[ποί]ησας αὐ-
τ̣οῦ διάδοχον . α̣[. .] . ε̣[. .] θρο-
νιστής· χρησ̣[μ]ῳ̣[δ .] . [. . .]ελ̣ην
τὰ ἐπισ̣τ̣ρ̣α̣[. . . . .]τ̣ . [. . . . .]ασιαι
π̣[. . . . . .]η̣[. . . . . .]α̣[.]σαν·
κα̣ὶ [. . . . .]ι̣ καὶ θ̣[. . .] κ̣α̣τ̣άγ̣ε̣ι̣ς τ̣οῖς
ι̣ε̣[. . . . . .]ν̣ . α̣π̣ . [. .]ξ̣ι̣ν καὶ ἁγίαν·
ε̣ὐ̣[. . . . .]ν̣ κατ[ηύ]ξησας κράτος
ε̣[. . . . . .]τ̣α̣ . . . . α̣ι̣ [ἀ]βουλίαις
[. . . . . .] . σ̣α̣σ̣ . . . [.] κ̣ε̣λεύουσα

Col. xii.

[
[
[
κ̣[α]ὶ [
τ̣ι τη[
η τέ̣ρ̣α̣τ̣α̣[·] ε̣ . [
ἱερῷ καὶ π̣ο̣λε[Ἀ-
βυδον θύρ̣αν̣ [
σὺ ἡ κτίσασα̣ ἐν̣ [ἀ-?
φώναντον κ̣α̣[
λε . ε̣θεῦ· καὶ α̣[
τὴν εὐθῖαν τ̣[
σὺ ἔκτισας . . . [
καὶ [ἐ]ν τῇ προσ̣[
τ̣α̣α̣βδεῦ· σὺ δ̣[
ο̣[

ἃ ἀνθ[. . . .] . ν τὰ ἀνάφορα πάν-
τα τ[.]ομένων πάντων . . . .
των κα[ὶ . . . . . .] . . . . . πάντων
θεῶν κ[. . .]ας διάδοχον αὐτ[ὸ]ν ἐ-
ποίησ[ας·] καὶ τὸν τ . [.] . ρον [.] . [[. σασ]]
βυ[.]τι[. . . π]άν[τ]ων θρόνου κύρι-
ον· καὶ χρησμῳδὸν βασιλέα
κατέ[σ]τησας ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρίου
οἴκου εἰς τὸν ἅπ[αν]τα χρόνον·
ἐπεὶ σο[ῦ] ἐκ τριῶν τὸ ἐν Βου-
σείρι ἱερὸν τὸ καλούμενον
Β[. .] . . . [. . .] . . οὐ ἀν[. .] . . [. . .] .
ελ . . . . [.] . α
σὺ παν[.] . .
των . . [
ἐποίησας τὸν [εἰς
τὸν αἰῶνα[[ν]]· [σὺ
σώτιρα· σὺ . [
νουσα ἱδρυμ[α
σὺ καὶ τὸ φῶς τ[
οιωεανεῦ· ιλ[
του· [σ]ὺ ἐπαυξ[
ἀσεβ[εῖ]ς [κ]αὶ υ[

250. ι of προκρινας above ει. 250–1. τ of αυτου corr. from δ. 269. l. ἐπί.
296. ε of οιωεανευ above η (or κ?) deleted.

'. . . at Aphroditopolis One- . . .; in the House of Hephaestus . . ., . . chmeunis; who at . . . ophis art called Bubastis, . . .; at Letopolis Magna one, . . .; at Aphroditopolis in the Prosopite nome fleet-commanding, many-shaped, Aphrodite; at Delta giver of favours; at Calamisis gentle; at Carene affectionate; at Niciu immortal, giver; at Hierasus . . . athroichis; at Momemphis ruler; at Psochemis bringer to harbour; at Mylon ruler; at Ce . . culemis . . .; at Hermopolis of beautiful form, sacred; at Naucratis fatherless, joy, saviour, almighty, most great; at Nithine in the Gynaecopolite nome Aphrodite; at Pephremis Isis, ruler, Hestia, lady of every country; at Es . . . Hera, divine; at . . .; at Buto skilled in calculation, . . .; at Thonis love . . .; in the Saïte nome victorious, Athena, nymph; at Nebeo . . .; at Caene joy; at Saïs Hera, ruler, perfect; at Iseum Isis; at Sebennytus inventiveness, mistress. Hera, holy; at Hermopolis Aphrodite, queen, holy; at Diospolis Parva ruler; at Bubastus of old; at Heliopolis Aphrodite; at Athribis Maia, supporter; at Hiera in the Phthemphuthite nome lotus-bearing; at Teouchis sacred, mistress; among the Bucoli Maia; at Xois of old, oracular; at Catabathmus providence; at Apis understanding; at Leuce Acte Aphrodite, Mouchis, Eseremphis; at Phagroriopolis . . .; at Choatine victorious; at . . . skilled in writing, . . .; at Cynopolis in the Busirite nome Praxidice; at Busiris fortune, good; at Hermopolis in the Mendesian nome leader; at Pharbaethus of beautiful form; at Isidium in the Sethroïte nome saviour of men; at Heracleopolis in the Sethroïte nome mistress; at Phernouphis ruler of cities; at Leontopolis serpent, good; at Tanis of gracious form, Hera; at Schedia inventiveness; at Heracleum lady of the sea; at Canopus leader of the muses; at Menouthis truth; at Meniouis seated before Io in whose honour . . . is founded; at M . . enestium most great, vulture-shaped, Aphrodite; at Taposiris Thauestis, Hera, giver; in the Island swiftly-victorious; at Peucestis pilot; at Melaïs (?) many-formed; at Menouphis warlike; in the Metelite nome Core; at Charax Athena; at Plinthine Hestia; at Pelusium bringer to harbour; in the Casian district Tachnepsis; at the Outlet Isis, preserver; in Arabia great, goddess; in the Island giver of victory in the sacred games; in Lycia Leto; at Myra in Lycia sage, freedom; at Cnidus dispeller of attack, discoverer; at Cyrene Isis; in Crete Dictynnis; at Chalcedon Themis; at Rome warlike; in the Cyclades islands of threefold nature,

Artemis; at Patmos young, . . .; at Paphos hallowed, divine, gentle; in Chios marching; at Salamis observer; in Cyprus all-bounteous; in Chalcidice holy; in Pieria youthful; in Asia worshipped at the three ways; at Petra saviour; at Hypsele most great; at Rhinocolura all-seeing; at Dora friendship; at Stratonos Pyrgos Hellas, good; at Ascalon mightiest; at Sinope many-named; at Raphia mistress; at Tripolis supporter; at Gaza abundant; at Delphi best, fairest; at Bambyce Atargatis; among the Thracians and in Delos many-named; among the Amazons warlike; among the Indians Maia; among the Thessalians moon; among the Persians Latina; among the Magi Core, Thapseusis; at Susa Nania; in Syrophoenicia goddess; in Samothrace bull-faced; at Pergamum mistress; in Pontus immaculate; in Italy love of the gods; in Samos sacred; at the Hellespont mystic; at Myndus divine; in Bithynia Helen; in Tenedos name of the sun; in Caria Hecate; in the Troad and at Dindyma . . ., Palentra (?), unapproachable, Isis; at Berytus Maia; at Sidon Astarte; at Ptolemaïs understanding; at Susa in the district by the Red Sea Sarkounis; thou who also interpretest first of all in the fifteen commandments, ruler of the world; guardian and guide, lady of the mouths of seas and rivers; skilled in writing and calculation, understanding; who also bringest back the Nile over every country; the beautiful animal of all the gods; the glad face in Lethe; the leader of the muses; the many-eyed; the comely goddess in Olympus; ornament of the female sex and affectionate; providing sweetness in assemblies; the lock of hair (?) in festivals; the prosperity of observers of lucky days; Harpocratis of the gods; all-ruling in the processions of the gods, enmity-hating; true jewel of the wind and diadem of life; by whose command images and animals of all the gods, having . . . of thy name, are worshipped; O lady Isis, greatest of the gods, first of names, Io Sothis; thou rulest over the mid-air and the immeasurable; thou devisest the weaving of . . .; it is also thy will that women in health come to anchor with men; all the elders at E . . ctus sacrifice; all the maidens who . . . at Heracleopolis turn (?) to thee and dedicated the country to thee; thou art seen by those who invoke thee faithfully; from whom . . . in virtue of the 365 combined days; gentle and placable is the favour of thy two ordinances; thou bringest the sun from rising unto setting, and all the gods are glad; at the risings of the stars the people of the country worship thee unceasingly and the other sacred animals in the sanctuary of Osiris, they become joyful when they name thee; the . . . spirits become thy subjects; . . . (174–89) and thou bringest decay on what thou wilt and to the destroyed bringest increase, and thou purifiest all things; every day thou didst appoint for joy; thou . . . having discovered all the . . . of wine providedst it first in the festivals of the gods . . .; thou becamest the discoverer of all things wet and dry and cold ⟨and hot⟩ of which all things are composed; thou broughtest back alone thy brother, piloting him safely and burying him fittingly; . . . (193–6) leader of diadems; lady of increase and decay and of . . . (202–17) thou didst establish shrines of Isis in all cities for all time; and didst deliver to all men observances and a perfect year; and to all men . . . in every place; thou didst show . . . in order that all men might know that thou . . .; thou didst establish thy son Horus Apollo everywhere the youthful lord of the whole world and . . . for all time; thou didst make the power of women equal to that of men; and in the sanctuary thou didst . . . nations . . . (222–31) thou, lady of the land, bringest the flood of rivers . . ., and in Egypt the Nile, in Tripolis the Eleutherus, in India the Ganges; owing to whom the whole and the . . . exists through all rain, every spring, all dew and snow, and all . . . and land and sea; thou art also the mistress of all things for ever; . . . (235–52) thou madest the . . . of the Dioscuri; . . . thou hast dominion over winds and thunders and lightnings and snows; thou, the lady of war and rule, easily destroyest tyrants by trusty counsels; thou madest great Osiris immortal, and deliveredst to every country . . . religious observances; likewise thou madest immortal Horus who showed himself a benefactor . . . and good; thou art the lady of light and flames; thou . . . a sanctuary at Memphis; Horus having judged before-

hand that thou hadst appointed him successor (of his father) . . . enthroning him, . . . (265–70) thou didst establish him lord of the throne and oracular king over his father's house for all time; in thy honour out of three temples that at Busiris called . . .'

1–3. The 'House of Hephaestus' in l. 2, which was clearly in the neighbourhood of the southern apex of the Delta (cf. ll. 7 sqq.), no doubt refers to the Hephaesteum at Memphis (Strabo, p. 807), being apparently used as a name of the city, like the Egyptian *Hat-ka-ptah*, 'the temple of the divine personality of Ptah' (Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 47). The worship of Isis at Memphis is again mentioned in l. 249, where she is said to have a special ἄδυτον there; cf. Hdt. ii. 176. According to Diod. i. 22 and Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ii. 1 her tomb was at Memphis, according to Lucian, *Adv. ind.* 14, her hair, and she appears on the coins of the city and nome. That the author of **1380** was himself a priest of Isis at Memphis is not unlikely; cf. p. 195.]χμεῦνιν in l. 3 is an Egyptian appellation like e. g. Ταχνῆψιν in l. 75 (? Τα]χμεῦνιν), and one or two other titles are lost in the lacuna. Since the list of towns proceeds in a northerly direction,]πόλει in l. 1 would be expected to be not far south of Memphis, and Ἀφροδίτης] πόλει, the capital of the Aphroditopolite nome (*Atfih*) is more likely than Νείλου] πόλει, which is placed by Ptolemy in the Heracleopolite nome a little north of the capital, or Ἡρακλέους] πόλει (*Ehnasia*). Another Ἀφροδίτης πόλις (l. 7, note) is distinguished by the mention of its nome. If, however, as is possible (cf. ll. 18, 70, 73, 87, 96, 116, notes), the geographical order is not being strictly adhered to in ll. 1–2, a town in the Heliopolite nome, which adjoined the Memphite on the north-east, might be meant. Heliopolis itself occurs in l. 38, and Heroönpolis (*Tell el Maskhúta*; Naville, *Pithom*, p. 6) is too far away to be suitable, but the Ἀφροδίτης πόλις which is coupled with Heliopolis in P. Tebt. 313. 2, if it was in the Heliopolite nome and different from the town of that name in the Prosopite nome (l. 7), may be referred to, or, possibly, Letopolis, if that town does not occur in l. 6, where it is expected. Ὀνε- in l. 1 is probably the beginning of another Egyptian title like]χμεῦνιν, &c., the first syllable perhaps representing *un* as in Ὀννῶφρις = *Un-nefer*, 'good being'. A proper name Ὀνῆς with gen. Ὀνέους occurs e. g. in P. Par. 5. xl. 4–5. With Ὀνείου πόλις (*Tell el Yahudîa*) or Ὄν, the Egyptian name of Heliopolis, there is not likely to be any connexion.

4.]όφει: the doubtful ο might be σ, but not μ, so that Μέ]μφει is inadmissible, even apart from the probability that the 'House of Hephaestus' means the town as well as the temple; cf. the preceding note.]οφις was presumably in the Memphite or Letopolite nome. The Coptic town Shetnoufi (*Shatanûf*), about ten miles north of Letopolis, seems to be different.

4–5. Βούβασ[τιν: in Hdt. ii. 156 Βούβαστις is equated to Ἄρτεμις and made the daughter of Isis. The identification of Isis with the cat-headed goddess Bubastis occurs also in P. Brit. Mus. 121. 496, and cf. l. 37, note. Βουβασ[τίτου is unlikely owing to the absence of the article (cf. ll. 8 and 21, though later, in ll. 40 and 71, the article is omitted with nomes), and because Bubastus comes in l. 37. κ]αλουμένην is not used elsewhere after titles in **1380**.

6. [ἐν Λητ]οῦς [π]ό[λε]ι [τῇ] μεγάλῃ: the name is uncertain and [ἐν . .]μησ[.] . [. .]ι [τῇ]μ. can be read, but a mention of Letopolis (*Ausîm*) is expected between the Memphite and Prosopite nomes, and in this neighbourhood no other town likely to have been called 'the great' is known, though that title is not elsewhere applied to Letopolis.

μίαν: cf. the common phrase εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις, e. g. **1382**. 20; Isis is called 'the only one' in her Egyptian titles (Budge, *op. cit.* 277). Μ⟨α⟩ῖαν, however, is possible; cf. e. g. l. 103 and Μεαν in l. 116.

7–8. Aphroditopolis in the Prosopite nome is known from Strabo, p. 802 συνάπτει δὲ . . . καὶ ἔτι ὁ Προσωπίτης νόμος, ἐν ᾧ Ἀφροδίτης πόλις, and Pliny, *N. H.* v. 10 *Busiris, Cynopolis, Aphrodites, Sais*. The identification with Niciu, which according to Ptolemy was the

capital of the Prosopite nome, was rejected by Wiedemann (*op. cit.* p. 195), rightly, as l. 12 shows. There is more to be said in favour of identifying it with the Ἀτάρβηχις of Hdt. ii. 41, which was in the Προσωπῖτις νῆσος and had a temple of Aphrodite, but that view is also rejected by Wiedemann. Ἀτάρβηχις occurs elsewhere only in Steph. Byz., who omits this Ἀφροδίτης πόλις. The Prosopite nome apparently included a triangular island between the main Canopic (western) branch and the Φερμουθιακὸς ποταμός, which issued at the Sebennyte mouth, the northern limit of the nome being perhaps the ancient canal called *Bahr el Fara'únía* ('Pharaonic river') which runs from east to west through *Menúf*; cf. Butler, *Arab conquest of Egpyt*, p. 16[1]. But it also extended to the west bank, since Θερενοῦθις (*Terrâna*) was included in it; cf. B. G. U. 453. 2. There are ruins of a large town at *Zawyet Razín* on the Rosetta branch south-east of *Menúf*, which might belong to Ἀφροδίτης πόλις. Mrs. Butcher (*Story of the Church in Egypt*) would identify them with Niciu (cf. l. 12), but Butler (*l. c.*) follows Quatremère in placing that town, of which the Coptic name was *Pshati*, at *Shabshîr*, where the canal joins the Rosetta branch, about six miles south of *Ibshádi*, which is identified with Niciu in a Graeco-Coptic-Arabic list of equivalents (Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 283). Petrie (*Naukratis*, i, p. 93) puts Niciu at *El Daharía*, twelve or thirteen miles from Naucratis. The title 'mistress of the fleet' given to Isis at Ἀφροδίτης πόλις shows that it had a harbour of some importance. The form στολαρχίς seems to be new.

9. Ἀφροδίτην: i. e. in Egypt usually Hathor, with whom Isis was often identified (cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 494–9), Horus being identified with Eros.

10. [ἐ]πὶ τοῦ Δέλτα: the writer tends to use ἐπί in place of ἐν when he is speaking of a town named after some natural object, e. g. in ll. 44 τοῦ Ἄπεως, 45 Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς, 60 Σχεδίας, 61 τοῦ Ἡρακλίου, 74 τοῦ Κασίου, 75 τοῦ Ἐκρήγματος, 91 τῆς Πέτρας, but he is not consistent; cf. ll. 43 ἐν Καταβαθμῷ, 54 ἐν τῷ Ἰσιδίῳ. With districts he uses ἐν, e. g. in ll. 29 ἐν τῷ Σαΐτῃ and 71 [ἐν] Μετηλείτῃ and frequently in ll. 76 sqq. Probably therefore τὸ Δέλτα is a town rather than a district and identical with the κώμη rather than the χωρίον at the junction of the Canopic and Sebennytic branches described by Strabo, p. 788. τὸ Δέλτα in P. Rev. Laws xxxi. 6 is a district, but whether it corresponded to Strabo's χωρίον or was further north, as suggested by Hogarth (*Journ. of Hell. Stud.* xxiv. 2[2]), or meant the Heliopolite nome, is not clear. On the whole it is probable that in xxxi. 6 Μενε]λαΐδι καὶ Δέλτα together form the Νιτριώτης of lxi. 20; cf. l. 21, note. Ptolemy's μέγα Δέλτα, μικρὸν Δ., and τρίτον Δ. are all east of the Prosopite nome. The stop after χαριτοδώτειραν is not quite certain, as it might be a continuation of the cross-bar of the ν; but though l. 11 presents difficulties it does not seem possible to combine the first part of it into one long adjective.

11–12. For ἠπίαν cf. l. 155. -η μίαν (cf. l. 6) might be read, but the letter preceding η is more like ι than τ. No place Καλάμισις is known from Greek writers, but both it and Καρή[ν]η apparently belong to the ἄλλαι πόλιες συχναί in the Prosopitis referred to by Hdt. ii. 41, and *Colomos*, which Geogr. Raven. 24 mentions next to *Nicum* (i. e. Νικίου: cf. l. 12) is perhaps identical with Καλάμισις, to which *Kaliûb*, near the Barrage, bears some resemblance. Καμμίσι could be read, but the division Κάμμι Σιη . . αν, treating the last word as an Egyptian title like Ταχνῆψιν, is unlikely owing to the correction of the ι of -μι from ει, for though irregular in his use of ι and ει in datives and frequently altering ει to ι, the scribe does not elsewhere alter a correct ει. Καρήνη is only known as a town in Mysia. With φιλ[ό]στοργον cf. l. 131 and the Ios Inscr. 24–5 ἐγὼ ὑπὸ τέκνων γονεῖς φιλοστοργεῖσθαι ἐνομοθέτησα.

12. τῇ Νεικίου: cf. ll. 7–8, note.

13. Either [.]θ ἁγίαν δότειραν or [ἀ]θάνα⟨το⟩ν δότ., or ἀθανα⟨σία⟩ν δοτ. (as one or two words) can be read. The incorrect form ἀθανασιανδότειραν would be similar to ἀνδρασώτειραν in l. 55 and would refer to the immortality conferred upon Osiris and Horus by Isis through her discovery of τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας φάρμακον (Diod. i. 25; cf. ll. 242–3, 246–7); but δότειραν occurs by itself in ll. 13 and 68 and is probably a separate word here. There are some traces of ink

above the second *αν*, but they seem to be accidental. *θανάτοιο δότειρα* occurs in Hesiod, *Op.* 354. [Ἀ]*θαναν* for Ἀ*θήνην*, which occurs e.g. in l. 30, is unlikely.

τῷ Ἱεράσῳ: this town, situated probably north of Niciu and not far from Momemphis (l. 14), is unknown. Ἱ*έρασα* at Cyrene is mentioned by Steph. Byz. and Ἱ*έρασος ποταμός* in Dacia by Ptolemy.

14.]*αθροῖχιν*: perhaps Ἀ*θροῖχιν*, for there is a blank space before *α*: but the surface of the papyrus is damaged, and e.g. Τ]*αθροῖχιν* (cf. Τ*αχνῆψιν* l. 75) is possible.

Μ*ωμέμ*[*φι*]: cf. Hdt. ii. 163 and Strabo, p. 803, who in describing the voyage from Schedia (cf. l. 60) to Memphis along the Canopic branch mentions the following places on his right, i.e. on the west bank, (1) Χ*αβρίου κώμη*, i.e. probably the Χ*αιρέου* of Byzantine geographers, (2) Ἑ*ρμοῦ πόλις* (*Damanhûr*, cf. l. 18), (3) Γ*υναικῶν πόλις καὶ* Γ*υναικοπολίτης νομός* (cf. l. 21), (4) *ἐφεξῆς δὲ* Μ*ώμεμφις καὶ* Μ*ωμεμφίτης νομός· μεταξὺ δὲ διώρυγες πλείους εἰς τὴν* Μ*αρεῶτιν*, (5) *ὑπὲρ δὲ* Μ*ωμέμφεως δύο νιτρίαι . . . καὶ νομὸς* Ν*ιτριώτης*, (6) *πόλις* Μ*ενέλαος* (cf. ll. 21 and 70, notes). Champollion's identification of Momemphis with *Menûf* is accepted by Wiedemann (*op. cit.* 572) and Daressy (*Rev. arch.* 3me sér. xxv. 208), but not by Amélineau (*Géogr.* 250–1). This view would bring it within the Prosopite nome (cf. ll. 7–8, note). Strabo's statement that there was a Momemphite nome is at variance with the evidence of P. Rev. Laws and the coins of the nomes, and probably the Μ*ωμεμφίτης* was really a toparchy. From its position in **1380** Momemphis would be expected to be somewhat north-west of Niciu, and the name *Menûf* suggests Μ*ενοῦφις* (l. 71, note) rather than Momemphis, though the identification of Μ*ενοῦφις* with that *Menûf* also presents difficulties.

15. *ἄνασ*]*σαν*: Aphrodite was the chief deity of Momemphis according to Strabo, *l. c.*; but though]*ην* can be read, there is not room for Ἀ*φροδίτ*]*ην*. For Isis as queen cf. p. 192 and l. 82, note.

Ψ*ωχήμει*: this place is no doubt identical with Steph. Byz. Ψ*ώχεμμις πολίχνιον* Α*ἰγύπτου.* Ἀ*ρτεμίδωρος ἐν ὀγδόῳ γεωγραφουμένων· καὶ Περίκερμις ἐκ δεξιῶν μερῶν καὶ Θαλαβαύδη καὶ* Ψ*ώχ.* Probably it and the two places mentioned in ll. 16–17 were in the Gynaecopolite or Nitriote nome. The towns of the Saïte nome apparently come in ll. 30–2, except Naucratis (l. 19, note). For [*ὁ*]*ρμίσ*[*τριαν*], which seems to be new, cf. l. 74 *ἐν* Π*ηλουσίῳ ὁρμ.* Psochemis apparently had a harbour of some importance, and may have been situated at the separation of the two branches leading to the Canopic and Bolbitic (Rosetta) mouths, i.e. at or near *Kafr el Zayât.*

16. Μ*ύλωνι*: this town is known only from Steph. Byz. Μ*ύλων πόλις* Α*ἰγύπτου.* Ἑ*καταῖος.*

17. Κε . . *κυλήμι*: this town, which is likely to have been near Hermopolis Parva (l. 18?) or Naucratis (l. 19), is unknown; cf. l. 15, note.

18. [Ἑ*ρ*]*μο*[*ῦ π*]*όλει*: the restoration is very uncertain, for Hermopolis *ἡ μικρά* (*Damanhûr*) would be expected to be mentioned as such in order to distinguish it from Herm. *ἡ μεγάλη* in the Heptanomia, Herm. *τοῦ* Μ*ενδησίου* (l. 52), and Herm. near Buto (l. 35?). Moreover Hermopolis Parva was north of Naucratis (l. 19) and probably of Nithine (l. 21, note), being in the Ἀ*λεξανδρέων χώρα* according to Ptolemy, though this is not a very serious objection, for it was on the west bank of the Canopic branch (l. 14, note) and only twenty-four Roman miles from Nithine, and a change of direction from north-south to east-west in any case takes place before l. 27. But there would be room for another letter in the lacuna after *μο* (or *με*), and perhaps an unknown town [. .]*με*[. . *π*]*όλει* was mentioned here, which, if it was south of Naucratis (l. 19) like Niciu (l. 12) and Momemphis (l. 14), would not disturb the geographical order. Hermopolis Parva, however, if not mentioned here, was omitted altogether, unless it came in l. 26.

19. Ν*αυκράτει*: Neḳrâsh, discovered by Petrie on the west side of the main branch, as correctly stated by Ptolemy but not by Strabo. In P. Rev. Laws lx. 18 it is coupled with

the Saïte nome, as in Ptolemy, but it issued coins distinct from those of the Saïte nome, the bulk of which was certainly on the east of the Canopic branch; cf. ll. 30–2 and l. 18, note.

ἀπάτειραν: the reading is practically certain, for though the vestiges of the first letter are very slight the second can only be *π* or *η*. The form is new. *ἀπάτωρ* occurs as an epithet of e. g. Hephaestus, but the point of its application to Isis is not clear. Elsewhere she is said to be the daughter of Cronos (i. e. Keb) and Rhea (Nut); cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 12, Diod. i. 13, and the Ios Inscr. 11–12, while other legends made her the daughter of Hermes (Plut. *l. c.*) or of Zeus (i. e. Ammon) and Hera (Diod. *l. c.*). In **1380** Isis is often identified with Hera and Maia, the mother of Hermes.

εὐφρο[σύ]νην: cf. p. 193 and 'lady of joy and gladness' in her Egyptian titles (Budge *op. cit.* p. 277).

21. *Ν[ι]θίνη τοῦ Γυναικο[πο]λείτου* is no doubt *Nithine* of the Itin. Anton. between *Hermopolis* (cf. l. 18, note) and *Andro*, stated to be twenty-four and twelve miles respectively distant from them in the itinerary from Pelusium to Alexandria, while a few lines later in the itinerary from Alexandria to Memphis *Hermopolis* is stated to be twenty-one miles from *Andro*, so that there would seem to be an error in the figures. *Andro*, i. e. *Ἀνδρῶν πόλις*, is generally considered to be identical with *Γυναίκων πόλις* and appears to have been at *Kharbatâ* near *Negîla* where the desert bends away to the west and canals lead to Lake Mareotis (cf. Strabo, p. 803 quoted in l. 14, note, and Amélineau, *Géogr.* 221). *Kum el Hisn* and *Kum Afrîn*, mounds south of Naucratis, may be identical with two of the places mentioned in ll. 15–17 and 21–3. **1380** agrees with the earlier authorities Strabo, Pliny (*N. H.* v. 9. 9), and the coins (on which Isis or Hathor is represented) in mentioning the Gynaecopolite nome and ignoring the Andropolite, which is not mentioned before Ptolemy and P. Flor. 278 (third century), but is commonly found in later writers on Egypt except Steph. Byz. Neither name occurs in P. Rev. Laws lx–lxxii, and that *]πολιτηι* in xxxi. 4 is *Γυναικο]πολίτηι* is very doubtful. *Ἡλιο]πολίτηι* suits the size of the lacuna better, and would have the advantage of reducing the differences in the two lists of nomes to the correspondence between *Μενε]λαΐδι καὶ Δέλτα* in xxxi. 5–6 and *Νιτριώτηι* in lxi. 20; cf. ll. 10 and 70, notes. *Pithin*, which is found in Geogr. Raven. 12 among unknown places in the north-west Delta, is probably identical with *Nithine*, and *Π[ι]θίνη* could be read here, in which case the Itin. Anton., not the Geogr. Raven., would be corrupt. *Pathanon* was the Coptic name of the modern *Batanûn*, between *Tanta* and *Menûf*, but this is too far south for *Νιθίνη*, which suggests a connexion with the goddess Neith and may well be the correct form. The mention of the nome implies that there was another Nithine in Egypt; cf. ll. 7–8, 40, 52, and 54, notes.

22. *Πεφρή[μι]*: this is very likely identical with the *Πάπρημις* of Hdt. ii. 63 and iii. 12, which Wiedemann (*op. cit.* p. 264) places in the eastern rather than the western Delta, being the site of a battle between Inaros and the Persians. The position, however, assigned to the Papremite nome in the list *Βουσιρίτης, Σαΐτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρ., νῆσος ἡ Προσωπῖτις καλεομένη, Ναθῶ* (Hdt. ii. 165) indicates that it lay near the middle of the Delta, but rather toward the west, i. e. between *Tanta* and Lake *Borollos*, and such a situation for Papremis would harmonize with the position occupied by Pephremis between the Gynaecopolite nome (l. 21) and Buto (l. 27).

23. *Ἑστία* like Isis, was considered to be the daughter of Cronos and Rhea (Diod. i. 13). In late times she was identified with Demeter and Persephone, but not apparently elsewhere with Isis.

24. *[κυ]ρείαν πάσης χώρας*: cf. ll. 125–6, note, and the Ios Inscr. 3–4 *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ τ[ύρανν]ος πάσης χόρας*. The deleted *Χνου* seems to be the beginning of an unknown town named after the god *Χνοῦβις* (Chnum). *Χνοῦβις* in the Thebaid is placed by Ptolemy opposite Latopolis (*Esna*).

25. Εσ[. . . : no suitable name for this town, which is likely to have been near Buto (l. 27), is known. *Eschetia* occurs in a Coptic list of bishoprics next to Naucratis, but this may refer to Σχεδία : cf. Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 172. The doubtful σ might be ο or ω, but not λ or ρ, so that Ἐλ[ενσῖνι and Ἐρ[μοῦ πόλει (cf. l. 18, note) are excluded.

26. For Ἥραν cf. e. g. l. 32, and for δία[ν ll. 86 and 111. The α of Ἥραν has apparently been prolonged above the ν, perhaps by an afterthought. On the identification of Isis with Juno cf. Diod. i. 25 and Drexler, *op. cit.* 513–15. With what Egyptian goddess Hera was generally identified is not clear. A cataract inscription (C. I. G. 4893) identifies her with Satis. ἀμία]ν|τον ἐν (ε above the line) Δι.[is a less satisfactory reading, and ἐ]ν | Μένδ⟨ητ⟩ι α[is inadmissible, but ἐν Θμο]ύ[ει, which in Roman times superseded Mendes, may have followed δία[ν.

27. The supposed β of Βουτῷ is very doubtful, but that town is expected about this point. Its site has not yet been located with certainty, but Hogarth (*op. cit.* p. 4) accepts Petrie's proposal (*Naukratis*, i, p. 91) to identify it with *Tell Fera'în*. The name seems to have survived in the village of *Ebtu*. Hermopolis, which according to Strabo, p. 802, was near Buto, apparently comes later; cf. l. 35, note. According to Hdt. ii. 156 Leto, i. e. Uat, a winged-serpent goddess, protectress of Lower Egypt (Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 263), was the chief deity worshipped there, but Λη[τώ does not suit the vestiges of the second letter, which seems to be round, and for λο[γιστικήν cf. l. 124. Λητώ, however, may have followed; cf. l. 79.

28. Θώνι: the reading is fairly certain. Strabo (p. 800) places it on the strip of coast between Pharos and the Canopic mouth τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ Θῶνίν τινα πόλιν ἐνταῦθά φασιν, ἐπώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ δεξαμένου Μενέλαόν τε καὶ Ἑλένην ξενίᾳ: cf. Steph. Byz. κεῖται δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τὸ Κανωβικόν, and Hdt. ii. 113. Parthey (*Erdkunde d. alten Aegypt.*) puts it east of the Canopic mouth on the site of *Tûna*.

ἀγάπ[ην : cf. l. 109 ἀγάπην θεῶν, which can be restored here, but ἀγάπην may be a title by itself like φιλίαν in l. 94.

28–9. If χρόνῳ is right, the preceding ω might be ἄν]ω : cf. τὸ ἄνω in ll. 38 and 42. The words seem to belong to a title, not a place-name ; but the ν is very doubtful, and possibly ἐν . . . . .]ωχρο] . . ῳ καὶ Ἀγω[should be read. For the coupling of two names cf. l. 101.

30. τῷ Σαΐτῃ : for a nome instead of a town cf. l. 71 ἐν] Μετηλίτῃ, and for a district apart from individual towns in it, ll. 86–8. For ν[ι]κήτ[ριαν cf. l. 48 and Drexler, *op. cit.* 521. The chief deity at Saïs was Neith-Athena (Hdt. ii. 59), so that this identification of Isis with Athena was very natural ; cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 9 τὸ δ' ἐν Σάι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἣν καὶ Ἶσιν νομίζουσιν κτλ., and 60 τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἶσιν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀνόματι καλοῦσι. For Isis as νύμφη cf. the evidence for her relation to nymphs discussed by Drexler, *op. cit.* 529–30, especially a Myconus inscr. Ἴσ]ιδι [κοι]ράνῳ καὶ θεαῖς Νύνφαις.

31. Νηβεο[suggests a possible connexion with the modern *Nebeira*, close to Naucratis, which was in the Saïte nome (l. 19, note), but ἐν τῇ Βεο[(or Βεμ[) can be read, though after l. 13 the article is rarely used with place-names. The title may be Ἶ[σ]ιν ; cf. e. g. l. 76.

Καινῇ: the only known Egyptian towns of this name are (1) Καινή (*Kena*) in the Thebaid, (2) *Cene* which the Itin. Anton. places between *Tacona* (in the κάτω τοπαρχία of the Oxyrhynchite nome ; cf. **1285**. 130) and *Isiu*, i. e. probably in the Heracleopolite nome, and (3) a village in the Arsinoite nome (e. g. P. Tebt. 345). *Chenopolis* occurs in Geogr. Raven. 111 in the list *Xoy* (Ξόις: cf. l. 42), *Tele, Chenop., Me⟨m⟩nonia* ; and *Caenopolis* id. 125 in the list *Tinoy* (Antinoë?), *Caenop., Selitra, Chara* (Χάραξ? ; cf. l. 72, note), *Nichis* (Νικίου?), *Nastrim, Babilon*. The arrangement is not clear in either case, but *Chenopolis* seems to refer either to Καινή = *Kena* or to Chenoboscium, while *Caenopolis* might be our Καινή, which was probably in the Saïte nome.

32. Σάι: cf. l. 30, note.

33. Ἰ[σείῳ]: this is the natural point for mentioning Iseum (Steph. Byz., Geogr. Raven.; *Isidis oppidum*, Pliny), which had one of the most important temples of Isis in the Delta. The ruins of the town are at *Behbît el Hagar*, about eight miles north of Sebennytus (*Samanûd*; cf. the next entry), and it no doubt belonged to the Sebennyte nome. For Ἴσ]ιν cf. e. g. l. 23; at the Ἰσίδιον τοῦ Σεθροΐτου (l. 54) she was called ἀνδρ⟨ο⟩σώτειρα.

34. For ἐπί[νοιαν cf. l. 60, and for δυ]νάστιν e. g. l. 41.

35. ἐ[ν] Ἑ[ρ]μοῦ πόλει: there is some doubt about this name, which may be read ἐ[ν .]εμου πόλει. If Ἑ[ρ]μοῦ is right, this town seems to be the Hermopolis περὶ τὴν Βουτόν on an island (Strabo, p. 802), since Herm. in the Mendesian nome comes in l. 52 and for Herm. Parva l. 18 is a much more suitable place than l. 35. The site of this Herm. is unknown; from its position here between Sebennytus (*Samanûd*) and Diospolis, which seems to have been in the lower Sebennyte nome (l. 36, note), it would be expected also to lie in one of the two divisions of that nome, and such a situation is not inconsistent with Strabo's statement that Herm. was near Buto, which was mentioned in l. 27. The latter town was the capital of the Φθενέτης νομός according to Ptolemy, and if rightly placed at *Tell Fera'în* (cf. l. 27, note), it was close to the *Bahr Nashart*, which Hogarth (*l. c.*) identifies with the Θερμουθιακὸς ποταμός of Ptolemy and makes the boundary between the Φθενέτης νομός and its eastern neighbour, the Σεβεννύτης κάτω. On the east side of this canal, in the district between *Tell Fera'în* and *Kûm Khanziri*, which Hogarth has identified on good evidence with Παχνεμοῦνις, the capital of the Σεβεννύτης κάτω according to Ptolemy, are the ruins of a large town at *Hazwalid*, which Hogarth regards as the site of Phragonis (not mentioned in 1380), and mounds of several smaller towns, e. g. *Haddadi* (cf. Hogarth's map), one of which may well have been Hermopolis.

36. βασ[ί]λειο[σαν, ἱγε]ίαν: for Isis as queen, her true name according to Apul. *Metam.* xi. 5 (cf. l. 82, note), cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 512–13. The ει of αγε]ιαν may have been corrected, as in the previous line, where ει is not certainly deleted; cf. l. 250, critical note.

Δειὸς π[ό]λει τῇ μεικ[ρᾷ]: Diospolis Parva elsewhere refers to *Hû* in Upper Egypt, but this Diospolis is clearly that mentioned by Strabo, p. 802 πλησίον δὲ Μένδητος καὶ Διόσπολις καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν λίμναι καὶ Λεοντόπολις· εἶτ' ἀπωτέρω ἡ Βούσιρις ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ καὶ Κυνόσπολις, Hermippus Fr. 50 θάπτεται (sc. Demetrius Phalereus) ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ πλησίον Διοσπόλεως, Hierocles, *Synec.* Νικίου, Ξόις, Φραυννης (i. e. Φραγῶνις), Παχνεμο⟨ῦ⟩νις, Διόσπολις, Σεβέν⟨ν⟩υτος, and the coins inscribed Διοσπ(όλεως), or Διοσπ(ολίτου), κ(άτω). Its site is uncertain. Hogarth (*op. cit.* p. 12) places it at *Tell el Balamûn*, a little north-east of *Sherbîn* on the west bank of the Damietta branch, about half-way between Sebennytus and the mouth, and Daressy (*Rev. arch.* 3me sér., p. 208) at *Belkâs* about seven miles west of *Sherbîn*, but such a position creates a considerable difficulty with regard to the statement of Hermippus that Diospolis was in the Busirite nome, since that nome was south of the Sebennyte and cannot have extended in the direction of Damietta; cf. ll. 49–50, note. Against Hermippus, however, is to be set the fact that in 1380 the Busirite nome comes later, and the position of Diospolis in l. 36 rather suggests that it lay somewhere between Sebennytus and Bubastis. *Tell Mokdam* near *Mît Ghamr* would be suitable, but that site has been sometimes considered to be Leontopolis (l. 58), and the mention of the lakes near Diospolis suggests that it lay not far from the coast. The issue of separate coinage indicates that it was in Hadrian's time the capital of a nome called Διοσπολίτης κάτω, but this is ignored by P. Rev. Laws, Strabo, and Ptolemy, and probably Diospolis belonged earlier to the Sebennyte nome. The Mendes papyri of the second century do not mention it, but it occurs with other nomes in a third-century ostracon (Milne, *Theban Ostraca*, p. 151).

37–8. ἐν Βουβάστῳ τὸ ἄνω: Bubastus (the form -τις is not applied to the town in papyri) is *Tell Basta*, near *Zagazig*. τὸ ἄνω (cf. l. 42) is a curious expression, and it is not clear whether the reference is to space (cf. ll. 144–5) or time. If to the latter (cf. l. 82, note),

there may be a connexion with l. 28 ? *ἄν]ω χρόνῳ*. Bubastus was said to have been founded in honour of Isis; cf. Diod. i. 27 and the Inscr. of Ios 16.

38. Ἡλίου π[όλ]ει: about seven miles north-east of Cairo; cf. ll. 1–3, note.

39. Ἀ[θ]ρίβ[ι]: *Tell Atrîb*, near *Benha*.

Μαῖαν: cf. p. 192. As the mother of Hermes, she was a natural deity to identify with Isis, whom some legends made the daughter of Hermes (cf. l. 19, note). Mr. Griffith well compares the Greek name of *Damanhûr*, Hermopolis Parva, where Hermes = Horus, probably a very old identification made before Egypt was familiar to the Greeks; cf. p. 224.

ὀρθωσίαν: cf. l. 98. This term is a common title of Artemis. The explanation of Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 54 *ὅτι ὀρθοῖ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἢ ὀρθοῖ τοὺς γεννωμένους* is preferred by Höfer (Roscher, *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.* iii. 1213). Applied to Zeus the term = *stator*.

40. Ἱερᾷ Φθεμφ[θ]ού[τ]ου: Ἱερά occurs as a village-name in Egypt in the Arsinoite nome (P. Tebt. ii, p. 380), but this town was unknown. The Phthemphuthite nome, which is ignored by P. Rev. Laws and Strabo and of which the capital was Ταούα (Ptolemy) or Ταναιτῶν πόλις (P. Brit. Mus. 921. 6), adjoined the Athribite nome (l. 39) on the west, being north of the Prosopite nome (l. 8); cf. Itin. Anton. which places *Tava* twelve miles from *Andro* (l. 21, note) and thirty from *Cyno* (ll. 49–50, note). The spelling varies, Φθεμθ( ) and Φθεμφοευ( ) being found on coins, Φθεμφουθί in the best MSS. of Ptolemy, Φθεμφουθ( ) in P. Brit. Mus. 921, Φθεμφούθ in P. Ryl. 78. 5, *Phthemphu* in Pliny, *N. H.* v. 49. It is not certain that a letter is lost after φ. For the omission of τοῦ cf. l. 71 and ll. 4–5, note.

λω[τ]οφόρον: the lotus-flower was a symbol of immortality in late times (Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 375) and the epithet is very appropriate here to Isis, who on the coins of the Phthemphuthite nome is represented with a lotus (Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alex.* 6350). The first ο of λω[τ]οφόρον is more like σ, but φωσφόρον cannot be read and θεσ[μ]οφόρον (cf. ll. 119–20) is also unsuitable.

41. Τεούχι: this is probably identical with Steph. Byz. Τεύωχις· πόλις Αἰγύπτου. ἔστι καὶ λίμνη ὁμώνυμος, but is otherwise unknown. It may have been in the northern part of the Phthemphuthite nome (cf. l. 40) or in the Xoïte (cf. l. 42), or even further north (cf. the next note), if the Xoïte nome did not extend to the coast. The name suggests a possible derivation for Lake *Edkû*, the Greek name of which is unknown: the village *Edkû* is between *Abukîr* and *Rosetta*.

41–2. τοῖς Βουκολεῦσι: the Βουκόλοι, as they are elsewhere called, were primitive inhabitants of the marshes along the north-west coast, and revolted in A.D. 172. How far east they extended is not clear. The Βουκολικὸν στόμα of Hdt. ii. 17 is supposed by Wiedemann (*op. cit.* p. 96) and others to be the Phatnitic mouth, which was between the Sebennytic and Mendesian, but Sethe (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* s. v. Βουκόλοι), followed by Wilcken, *Chrest.* 21, introd., rejects this view, though Herodotus distinguishes the Bucolic from the Bolbitine and Canopic mouths, which were on the west. Strabo mentions the Βουκόλοι once (p. 792) in connexion with Alexandria, once (p. 802) in connexion with the district between the Sebennytic and Phatnitic mouths. τὰ Βουκόλια in B. G. U. 625 (cf. P. Hamburg 39) is regarded by Wilcken (*l. c.*) as a district, but may mean the town *Bucolia* in Geogr. Raven. 9, *Naucratis* being no. 6 and *Pithîn* (cf. l. 21, note) no. 12.

42. Ξόι: the ξ is very doubtful and Ξόι possibly occurred in l. 32. If it did, ἐν Ξοίτ[ῃ] ἄνω, 'the upper division of the Xoïte nome' might be read here; but for τ[ὸ] ἄνω cf. l. 38. Strabo describes its position (p. 802) ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογείῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ καὶ Φατνιτικοῦ στόματος Ξόις ἐστὶ καὶ νῆσος καὶ πόλις ἐν τῷ Σεβεννυτικῷ νομῷ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμούπολις (cf. l. 52, note) καὶ Λυκούπολις καὶ Μένδης. An ancient list of Greek, Coptic, and Arabic equivalents (Amélineau, *Géogr.* p. 410) identifies Xoïs with *Sakha*, about half-way between Hermopolis Parva and Thmuis. Pliny, *N. H.* v. 9. 9, the coins of the nomes, and Ptolemy show that there was a separate Xoïte nome in the first and second centuries, but Strabo's statement that

Xoïs was in the Sebennyte nome (cf. l. 33) earlier is confirmed by the absence of the Xoïte nome from the nome-lists in P. Rev. Laws.

43. Καταβαθμῷ: this can refer either to Κ. *μέγας* (*Akaba el Kebîr*) on the boundary between Egypt and the Marmarica according to Strabo, p. 678, and in the *παράλιος* of the Libyan nome according to Ptol., or, more probably, to Κ. *μικρός* (*Akaba el Soghîr*), placed by Ptol. some distance inland behind Λευκὴ Ἀκτή (l. 45) and nearer to Apis (l. 44) than is Κ. *μέγας*.

πρ[ό]νοιαν: Isis appears as *πρόνοια* on Alexandrian coins (Poole, *Catal.* p. 176); cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3 *ἔτι πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ, πολλοὶ δὲ Προμηθέως ἱστορήκασιν αὐτὴν θυγατέρα· ὧν τὸν μὲν ἕτερον σοφίας καὶ προνοίας, Ἑρμῆν δὲ γραμματικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς εὑρετὴν νομίζοντες. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑρμουπόλει Μουσῶν τὴν προτέραν Ἶσιν ἅμα καὶ Δικαιοσύνην καλοῦσι, σοφὴν οὖσαν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ δεικνύουσαν τὰ θεῖα τοῖς ἀληθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἱεραφόροις καὶ ἱεραστόλοις προσαγορευομένοις.* Cf. also Apul. *Metam.* xi. 18 *dea providens* and Drexler, *op. cit.* 540.

44. *ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄπεως φρόνησιν*: for *ἐπί* cf. l. 10, note, and for Apis Hdt. ii. 18 *οἱ . . . ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος καὶ Ἄπιος*, Pliny, v. 39 *Apis . . . nobilis religione Aegypti locus*, Strabo, p. 779, and Ptol. iv. 5, who both place it a little west of Paraetonium, an important town in Roman times but ignored by **1380**. Fourteau (*Bull. de l'Inst. égypt.* 5me sér. viii. 99) suggests that it was near *Râs 'âmm Rokhâm*. Apis was probably the ancient capital of the Libyan nome, corresponding to *Nu ent Hapi* 'the town of Apis' in Egyptian texts. For Isis as *φρόνησις* cf. l. 124 and Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 60.

45. Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς: cf. Strabo, p. 799, Ptol. iv. 5. It was on the coast east of Paraetonium and north of *Καταβαθμὸς μικρός* (l. 43, note), and is generally identified with *Râs el Kanais*.

Μοῦχιν: the first three letters are very doubtful. *Μοῦχις* is the name of villages in the Arsinoïte (P. Tebt. 609), Heracleopolite (P. Hib. 68), and Oxyrhynchite (**1342**) nomes. There is no likelihood of any connexion with *Μωχιάς*, the title of Isis at Acoris (C. I. G. 4703 c), which refers to the *Μωχίτης τόπος* of the Hermopolite nome (P. Reinach. 15. 12, &c.).

46. Ἐσερέμφ[ι]ν: cf. the Theadelphia inscr. published by Breccia in *Bull. de la Soc. archéol. d'Alex.* 1914, where a temple of *Ἶσις Ἐσερέμφις* is mentioned in l. 17. Spiegelberg (*l. c.*) translates the term 'making a good name'.

Φραγούρων πόλει: i. e. the *Φαγρωριόπολις* of Strabo, p. 805, which Steph. Byz. calls *Φαγρώριον*, the Geogr. Raven. *Phagorior*. Strabo mentions it as the capital of the Phagroriopolite nome (which is ignored by other authorities) along with *Ἡρωώνπολις* (*Tell el Maskhûta*) and *Φάκουσα* (*Fakûs* or, as Naville thinks, *Seft el Henna*), and it probably lay in the *Wadi Tumilât* or on the east bank of the Pelusiac branch in the Arabian nome. Bubastus, Pharbaethus, and Tanis, capitals of nomes on the west bank of that branch, occur at some little distance (ll. 37, 53, and 59).

47–8. *Χοατίνη* seems to have been in the south-east of the Delta, but whether the lacuna in l. 48 contained another place-name or a second title of Isis is uncertain. If *ἐν* is right *Φακούσοις* or *Ἡρώων πόλει* may be supplied; cf. the preceding note. For γ]ραμματε[ικ]ή[ν cf. l. 123 and p. 193.

49–50. Κυνὸς] *πόλει τοῦ* Βου[σε]ι[ρε]ίτ[ο]υ: or, less probably, *Λύκων*] *πόλει τοῦ* Β.; cf. Rosetta Inscr. 22. This Cynopolis is mentioned in conjunction with Busiris (cf. l. 51) by Strabo, p. 802, Pliny, *N. H.* v. 64, Hierocles, and Meletus, *Brev.* p. 188, while the Itin. Anton. places it thirty miles east of Taba (in the Phthemphuthite nome; cf. l. 40, note) and twenty-five west of Thmuis (*Tmei el Amdîd*) in about the centre of the Delta, which position accords very well with Herodotus' statement (ii. 59) that Busiris was *ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα*. That town is identified in a list of Graeco-Coptic-Arabic equivalents with *Abusîr*, three miles south of *Samanûd* (Sebennytus; cf. l. 33), which is confirmed by the equation of *Βούσιρις* to Abusîr in the case of the Letopolite town (C. I. G. 4699. 12) and the Heracleopolite (B. G. U. 1061. 8, &c.), while *Κουνῶ(ν) κάτω* is identified with the Coptic *Panou* and Arabic *Beme*, a few

kilometres south of Abusîr. Ptolemy also places Busiris a little south of Sebennytus, but puts both towns much too far south, his whole arrangement of the eastern Delta being vitiated by the wrong position assigned to the Τραιανὸς Ποταμός (*Wadi Tumîlât*). P. Rev. Laws in xxxi. 7 mentions the Busirite nome between the Sebennyte and Mendesian, and in lxiii. 6 between the Mendesian and Athribite.

50. Πραξ[ι]δ[ί]κ[η]ν: cf. Türk and Höfer in Roscher, *op. cit.* iii. 2912–30. Originally perhaps connected with the Lycian goddess Panyasis, Praxidice (or three Praxidicae) was a deity akin to the Erinyes and Persephone, who is called Πραξιδίκη in *Orph. Hymn.* 29. 5. For the identification of Isis with Persephone cf. l. 72, note.

51. Βουσείρει: cf. ll. 49–50, note, 269–71, and Hdt. ii. 59–60.

τύχην, ἀγαθήν: for Isis as Fortune cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 545–6, and for ἀγαθήν (which is probably separate from τύχην) cf. l. 95 and C. I. G. 5041.

52. Ἑρμοῦ π[ό]λε[ι] τοῦ Μενδησίου: cf. P. Tebt. 340. 5, which shows that it gave its name to a toparchy, P. Ryl. 217. 15–34, Strabo, p. 802, quoted in l. 42, note, and Steph. Byz., who states that it was κατὰ Θμοῦιν. Since the Mendesian nome extended to the coast on the north-east, being probably bounded on the west by the Damietta Nile, it probably did not extend far south of Mendes-Thmuis. *Baklîa*, which is generally identified with Hermopolis, is about three miles west of *Tmei el Amdid*. Φερνοῦφις (l. 57) was also in this nome. Thmuis, the capital at this period (cf. Ptolemy and P. Ryl.), does not occur in 1380 except possibly in l. 26.

53. Φαρβαίθῳ: *Horbêt*, the capital of a nome which lay between the Bubastite and Tanite.

54. τῷ Ἰσιδίῳ τοῦ Σεθροΐτου: this place, named after a temple of Isis, was previously unknown; cf. Ἰ[σείῳ in l. 33. The Sethroïte nome was in the extreme north-east of the Delta; cf. l. 56, note.

55. ἀνδρασώτειραν seems to be an incorrectly formed compound (cf. l. 13, note) rather than two words, though for a confusion of sex cf. ll. 135–6, note.

56. Ἡρακλέ[ους] πόλει τοῦ Σεθροΐτου: the nome is added to distinguish it from Heracleopolis Magna in the Heptanomia. Ptolemy makes Ἡρακλέους μικρὰ πόλις (v. l. Σέθροϊς) the capital of the nome, and places it to the south-south-east of Pelusium; the Itin. Anton. places it twenty-two miles from Pelusium and the same distance from Tanis. It would be expected to be on the Pelusiac arm, not far from Daphnae. C. Müller (Ptol. iv. 5. 24) identifies it with *Tell el Serig* (= *Tell Baṭṭîkh*).

57. Φερνούφι: this town was in the Mendesian nome, giving its name to a toparchy; cf. P. Ryl. 216. 274 and 217. 57, 59.

58. Λε[ο]ντωπόλει: this place, the capital of a nome, is sometimes identified with *Tell Mokdam* near *Mit Ghamr*, between Sebennytus (l. 33) and Athribis (l. 39); cf. Strabo, p. 802, quoted in l. 36, note. Jomard, however, placed it east of Thmuis near Lake *Menzala*. Ptolemy makes it south of Thmuis and west of Pharbaethus, but north of Sebennytus and Busiris, which is inconsistent with such a relation to Thmuis and Pharbaethus. P. Rev. Laws xxxi. 8 mentions the Leontopolite nome between the Mendesian and Sethroite nomes, which rather favours Jomard's view, but in lxvii. 8 between the Tanite and Pharbaethite nomes, which favours the identification with *Tell Mokdam*.

ἀσπίδα: Isis is often represented as a snake; cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 533–9. In P. Amh. 128. 56 προφήτη(ς) Ἴσιδο(ς) Ὄφεω(ς) it is not clear whether Ὄφεω(ς) is a title of Isis or a proper name, as it is apparently in l. 116 of the same papyrus. ἐλπίδα is a less suitable reading than ἀσπίδα.

59. Τάνι: *San*, near Lake *Menzala*. χαριτόμορφος is a new compound.

60. Σχεδίας: cf. Strabo, p. 800 διέχει δὲ τετράσχοινον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡ Σχεδία, κατοικία πόλεως ἐν ᾗ τὸ ναύσταθμον τῶν θαλαμηγῶν πλοίων κτλ.

61. τ[ο]ῦ Ἡρακλίου: cf. Strabo, p. 801 μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κανωβόν (cf. l. 62) ἐστι τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ Ἡρακλέους ἔχον ἱερόν, Steph. Byz., who calls it Ἡρακλεόπολις (cf. l. 56), and Geogr. Raven. 2 *Eraclia*, no. 1 being *Alexandria*. For Isis in her familiar capacity of goddess of the sea cf. p. 193 and Drexler, *op. cit.* 474–90.

62. Κανώβῳ: near *Abukîr*, but its precise situation is not certain.

μουσαναγωγόν: apparently a new form; cf. l. 128. For Isis as leader of the Muses cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 3 quoted in l. 43, note.

63. Μεν[ο]ύθι: cf. C. I. G. 4683 *b*. 1 Εἴσιδι Φαρίᾳ Εἶσιν τὴν ἐν Μενούθι, Steph. Byz. Μένουθις Αἰγυπτία κώμη πρὸς τῷ Κανωπῷ, and Epiphanius, *Adv. Haeres.* iii, p. 1093, where a temple τῆς Μενουθίτιδος is mentioned.

ἀλήθιαν: cf. the Ios Inscr. 32 ἐγὼ τὸ ἀληθὲς καλὸν ἐνομοθέτησα νομίζ[εσ]θαι, and P. Brit. Mus. 46. 148 ἐγώ (sc. Abrasax) εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια.

64. Μεν[ι]ούει: it is not certain that any letter is lost between ν and ο, and only a narrow one is admissible; Μενούθι (cf. l. 63) or Μενού[θ]ει cannot be read, although the following word might be τοῦ. Σηκτιζ . . . is, however, a very unlikely name, the only one at all resembling it being Σενσκειτήν[η] in C. I. G. 4839. 11 Ἴσιδι τῇ Σενσ., referring to the modern *Sekket* in the Mons Berenicidis. The other places in ll. 60–76 are on or near the coast, so far as they can be identified, and ᾗ κτίζεται is confirmed by l. 151 ἔκτισαν σοὶ τὴν χώραν (cf. also l. 280), while for Ἰοῦς cf. ll. 143–4 Ἰοῖ Σῶθι. Io was often identified with Isis in Alexandrian times; cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 439–40. π[όλ(ε)ι]ς is possible in l. 64, but [ἡ]μερείας does not seem appropriate in l. 65, and for π[όλις Ε]ὐ[η]μερεί[α]ς there is not room, so that the construction of Ἰοῦς remains obscure.

65–6. τοῦ Μ[. .]νεστίου: the first letter is nearly certain, but the rest are very doubtful, especially ιο, which might be read as ε. Μ[ε]νελαΐτου is inadmissible. μεγίστου is probably a mistake for μεγίστην: cf. l. 21. γυπόμορφος is a natural epithet of Isis, who is often represented with a vulture's wings; cf. l. 220 and Drexler, *op. cit.* 473–4.

67. Ταποσίρι: two towns of this name in the north-west of Egypt are known: (1) Ταπ. (ἡ μεγάλη) east of Lake Mareotis, mentioned by Strabo, p. 799, but by other writers called Ταφόσιρις, the modern *Abusîr*, with a temple and a reputed tomb of Osiris, (2) Ταπ. ἡ μικρά between Alexandria and Canopus (Strabo, pp. 799–800). The towns mentioned in ll. 60–3 and the Μετηλίτης in l. 72 suggest the second, but Πλινθίνη in l. 73 is placed by Ptolemy close to the first, and the sites of other places found in ll. 60–73 being doubtful, it is not clear which of the two is meant. A dedication to Isis with other gods from Tap. Parva was published by Néroutsos, *Rev. arch.* 1887, p. 214, and *Domina Isis Taposiris* occurs in the dedication of a statue found at Faesulae (C. I. L. xi. 1544); a papyrus to be published in Part XII mentions ἱερὰ (γῆ) Ἴσιδος Ταποσειριάδος in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

68–9. τῇ Νήσῳ: this is more probably Φάρος νῆσος off Alexandria (Ptol. iv. 5; cf. p. 195) than the desert island off the Canopic mouth (Scylax, *Peripl.* 84) or Νῆσοι, a place in the Mareotis (Anon. *Stat. mar. magn.* 22–3). *Nesi*, which the Geogr. Raven. mentions next after *Anurion* (Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις in the Heracleopolite nome?) and *Cynopolis* (apparently in the Heptanomia), is probably different, as is Σιδωνία νῆσος (Strabo, p. 799), between Λευκὴ Ἀκτή (l. 45) and Taposiris Magna (l. 67, note). For ταχυν[ί]κην cf. l. 84, note.

69. Πευκεστίδι: this was only known from Geogr. Raven. 73 *Peucestim* among several unrecognizable towns, *Naucratim* being no. 61 and *Buto* no. 78. The title κυβερνῆτις suggests that it was on the coast (cf. l. 74 ἐν Πηλουσίῳ ὁρμίστριαν), probably not far from Alexandria.

70. Μελαΐδι: this town or district is unknown, and perhaps Μ⟨νε⟩λαΐδι should be read; cf. P. Rev. Laws xxxi. 6. Μενε]λαΐδι there, however, if correct, seems to mean the district round the πόλις Μενέλαος mentioned by Strabo, p. 803 (cf. l. 14, note), as being in the south-west of the Delta (Μενε]λαΐδι corresponds, partly at any rate, to the Nitriote nome; cf. l. 21,

note), whereas in the light of the preceding entries Με⟨νε⟩λαΐδι here would more appropriately refer to the Μενελαΐτης νομός, of which Canopus (l. 62) was the capital according to Ptolemy, but which is ignored by P. Revenue Laws. The term Μενελαΐς, however, does not occur elsewhere, and with Με⟨νε⟩λαΐδι it would be best to suppose that the list has made a sudden divergence to the south of the Delta in spite of ll. 60–8 and 72–5, which are concerned with the north coast; cf. the next note and that on l. 18.

71. Μ[ε]νούφι: this place is unknown; and Μ[α]νούφι or Μ[ει]νούφι might be read. The name strongly suggests the Arabic *Menûf* (cf. l. 14, note), but of the two towns of that name one lies between *Tanta* and Cairo, i. e. too far south to be appropriate unless Με⟨νε⟩λαΐδι be read in l. 70, and the other (*Mehallet Menûf*), about five miles north of *Tanta*, is identified with Ὀνοῦφις (the capital of a nome) in a Graeco-Coptic-Arabic list of equivalents; cf. Daressy, *Rev. arch.* 3me sér. xxv, p. 208.

στρ[α]τίαν: cf. ll. 83 and 102. στράτιος is a well-known epithet of Zeus and Athena (cf. ll. 30 and 72).

71–2. [ἐν] Μετηλείτῃ: there is no room for τῷ in the lacuna. The writer becomes more sparing in the use of the article as he proceeds; cf. ll. 4–5, note. The Metelite nome is placed by Ptolemy between the Μέγας ποταμός (i. e. the main western branch) and the Τάλυ ποταμός, which issued at the Bolbitine (Rosetta) mouth, i. e. in the district now mainly occupied by Lake *Edkû* (cf. l. 41, note). It is ignored by P. Rev. Laws and Strabo, but found on the coins of the nomes (on which Isis or Hathor is represented), so that it seems to have been created or revived in the first century.

72. Κ[ό]ρην: cf. l. 105 and l. 50, note. She was worshipped at Oxyrhynchus, as is shown by a papyrus to be published in Part XII.

Χάρακος: cf. Strabo, p. 760, who after describing the Κάσιον ὄρος (cf. l. 75) proceeds εἶθ' ἡ ἐπὶ Πηλούσιον (cf. l. 74) ὁδός, ἐν ᾗ τὰ Γέρρα καὶ ὁ τοῦ Χαβρίου λεγόμενος χάραξ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῷ Πηλουσίῳ βάραθρα. *Chara* in Geogr. Raven. 127 (cf. l. 31, note) is perhaps identical.

73. Πλινθίνῃ: this town in the Μαρεώτης νομός on the coast west of Alexandria not far from Taposiris Magna gave its name to the Πλινθινίτης κόλπος: cf. Hdt. ii. 6, Strabo, p. 799, Scylax, *Peripl.* 105, Ptol. iv. 5. This entry is somewhat out of place; cf. ll. 67–72, notes.

74. Πηλουσίῳ: *Tell Farama*, about twenty-five miles south-east of Port Said. Ptolemy refers to it by itself apart from the Sethroïte nome, of which Heracleopolis was the capital (cf. l. 56, note), and it issued separate coins, on which Isis occurs. Here it is also separated from the Sethroïte nome, and is followed by the Κάσιον ὄρος (*Râs el Kurûn*; cf. Hdt. ii. 6 and Wiedemann's note) and the Ἔκρηγμα (sc. Σιρβωνίδος λίμνης), which Ptolemy assigns together with Ῥινοκόλουρα (*El Arîsh*) to a distinct region, the Κασιῶτις. Ῥινοκόλουρα, however, occurs in l. 93 along with towns in Palestine, and was clearly regarded by the author of 1380 as beyond the Egyptian frontier, as in Pliny, *N. H.* v. 68, and Strabo, who extends Φοινίκη up to Pelusium (p. 756).

75. For τοῦ Κασίου cf. the preceding note, and for Ταχνῆψιν p. 192.

77. Ἀραβία probably means the Sinai peninsula or Arabia Felix rather than the νομὸς Ἀραβία. Petra, perhaps the capital of Arabia Felix, comes in l. 91. For θεόν cf. l. 107 and the Ios Inscr. 15–16 ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ παρὰ γυναιξὶ θεὸς καλουμένη.

77–8. τῇ [Νή]σῳ: cf. l. 68. At the end of the line τ is very doubtful, and perhaps ἐν Ση[. .]σῳ or Τη[. .]σῳ should be read; that any letters are lost is not certain. If τῇ [Νή]σῳ is right, the reference may well be to an island on the west coast of Arabia called Ἴσιδος ἱερά (Agatharchides in *Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 180, Diod. iii. 44), thought to be the modern *Barahkân*; cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* p. 376.

78. The verb ἱερονικοτελεῖν is apparently new. For Isis-worship in Lycia cf. l. 79 and Drexler, *Num. Zeitschr.* xxi. 184 sqq.

79. Λητώ: cf. l. 27, note. Myra = *Dembre*.

80–1. ἐλευθε[ρί]αν : ἐλευθέ[ρ]αν could be read, but Isis Eleutheria occurs on Alexandrian coins of Galba (Poole, *Coins of Alex.* p. 23).

ἄφεσιν ἐφ[ό]δων, εὑ[ρ]έτριαν : ἀφέσιος is an epithet of Zeus in Pausan. i. 44. 9. ἔφοδος in papyri usually means 'attack', and ἐφ[ό]δων seems to depend on ἄφεσιν rather than εὑρέτριαν, in connexion with which it would have to mean 'communications'. For Isis-worship at Cnidus cf. Drexler, *Num. Zeitschr.* xxi. 124–5, and for Isis-worship at Cyrene cf. Hdt. iv. 186, who says that out of respect for her the women of Cyrene and Barca ate no cow's flesh.

82. Δικτυννίν: cf. Apul. *Metam.* xi. 5 *me primigenii Phryges Pessinunticam nominant deum matrem; hinc Autochthones Attici Cecropiam Minervam* (cf. e. g. l. 30)*; illinc fluctuantes Cyprii* (cf. ll. 86–8) *Paphiam Venerem* (cf. e. g. l. 9)*; Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam* (cf. l. 84)*; Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam* (cf. l. 72, note)*; Eleusinii vetustam* (cf. ll. 37–8, note) *deam Cererem; Iunonem* (cf. l. 26, note) *alii, Bellonam* (cf. l. 83, note) *alii, Hecatam* (cf. l. 113) *isti, Rhamnusiam illi; et qui nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus illustrantur radiis Aethiopes Ariique, priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii . . . appellant vero nomine reginam* (cf. e. g. l. 36) *Isidem.* Dictynnis was another name of Britomartis; cf. Diod. v. 76, and Rapp in Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 821–8. The usual form was Δίκτυννα.

83. Θέμιν: cf. Πραξ[ι]δ[ί]κ[η]ν in l. 50.

στρατίαν: the title is appropriate enough at Rome (cf. ll. 71, 102, 239–42, and 82, note), but the reading is not certain, for the first letter is more like *α* than *σ* and the cross-bar of *τ* is very low, while the vertical stroke comes down further than usual, unless what looks like the bottom of it belongs to the *η* of τριφυήν in the next line. Ἄτροφιν (a variant of Ἄτροπον?) or Ἀ⟨σ⟩τραψιν (a form quoted by Suidas, s. v. μαρμαρυγή) is possible; cf. for the latter l. 238. On Isis-worship at Rome, which was firmly established in the time of Sulla, see Drexler in Roscher, *op. cit.* 400–9, Lafaye, *op. cit.*

84. τριφυής is new as an epithet of Isis, and what it refers to is not clear. Perhaps it means much the same as τρίμορφος, which was an epithet of Hecate (l. 113; cf. l. 91 τριοδῖτις). Mr. Milne suggests a connexion with the three-faced goddess figured on the leaden tokens of Memphis (*Ancient Egypt*, 1915. 108). For τριφυήν cf. l. 130 εὑπρ[ε]πήν.

85. [Π]άθμῳ: an island is expected, and [.]. εμῳ, which can be read, does not provide a suitable name, so that Patmos seems to be meant. The spelling may be due to the likeness to the Παθμιτικὸν στόμα (Ptol. iv. 5) which others call Φατνιτικόν.

νέα μ . [.]ιθ[. .]κη : the writer changes in ll. 85–6 from the accusative to the nominative, as again in ll. 107–9. *ν* of νέα is very uncertain, but the space suits νέα (cf. ὡραία in l. 90) better than θέα. The second word is not μο[υ]σε[ι]κή or [γ]ραμμ[α]τε[ι]κή (cf. l. 123), but the doubtful *ι* might be *ν*, and the *θ* possibly *ε*.

86. For evidence of Isis-worship in Cyprus (cf. ll. 87–9) see Apul. *Metam.* xi. 5 quoted in l. 82, note, and Drexler, *op. cit.* 379–80. For δία cf. ll. 26 and 111, and for ἠπία l. 11. δίαν cannot be read, but κενην with *δ* above the first *ν* (i. e. κεδνήν: cf. l. 79) is possible instead of ἠπία.

87. Chios is inserted between two places in Cyprus. For evidence of Isis-worship there see Drexler, *op. cit.* 381–2. στείχουσα as the title of a deity seems to be new.

κατόπτιν : cf. P. Brit. Mus. 46. 280–1 τῶν ἐπερωτώντων με καὶ κατ' ὄψιν μοι ἐρχομένων.

88. πανάφθονος is a new compound; cf. εὐπλέαν in l. 99.

89–90. The preceding mention of Cyprus and the occurrence of south Syrian towns in ll. 93 sqq. make it probable that both Chalcidice and Pieria refer to the districts in north Syria (Pieria on the coast, Chalcidice inland near Belus), rather than the homonymous districts in Macedonia, which would more naturally have occurred in proximity to the places mentioned in ll. 107–14. Petra, however, might be in the Macedonian Pieria; cf. note on l. 91. [ὁ]σίαν might be read for [ἀ]γίαν, but cf. e. g. l. 34. Συρί[ᾳ] is inadmissible in l. 90.

90. Ἀσίᾳ, if right (Ἰωνίᾳ is unsuitable), probably means Asia Minor rather than the Roman

province of Asia or Asia in general. On Isis-worship in Asia Minor cf. Drexler, *Num. Zeitschr.* xxi. 1 sqq.

91. τριοδεῖτιν: usually an epithet of Hecate; cf. l. 113 Ἑκά[τ]η and l. 84 τριφυήν.

Πέτρας: about fifteen towns of this name are known. That in the Macedonian Pieria (Livy, xxxix. 26) might be meant (cf. ll. 89–90, note); but the Arabian Petra (*Wadi Mûsa*) was the most important and, as ll. 93 sqq. are concerned with Syria, was probably intended, although Arabia occurred in l. 77.

92. Ὑψήλῃ: the capital of an Upper Egyptian nome (Ptol. iv. 5) is unsuitable, but the Ὑψηλῖται described by Steph. Byz. as κατοικία Θρᾴκης may be connected with this Ὑψ. An unknown place in Arabia or Syria, however, may well be meant; cf. ll. 93 sqq.

93. Ῥεινοκορούλοις: *El Arîsh*; cf. l. 74, note. There is much variation in the spelling of this name, which occurs elsewhere as Ῥινοκόρουρα or Ῥινοκόλουρα. **1380** is certainly incorrect on this point.

παντόπ[τιν: cf. l. 87 κατόπτιν, but παντοπ[όρον can be read. The second π has perhaps been corrected from ι or ρ.

94. Dora (*Tantura*) was between Ptolemaïs (l. 117) and Στράτωνος Πύργος in Palestine. The latter town was the earlier name of Caesarea (Joseph. *Arch.* xv. 8. 5), and is found in Strabo, p. 758, while Ptolemy calls it Καισάρεια Στράτωνος. It was situated between Dora and Ascalon (l. 96) and is still called *Kaisarîa*.

95. Ἑλλάδα: for the personification of Hellas in art cf. Drexler in Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 2027–8. She has no special attributes. That Isis should be regarded not far from Egypt as a specifically Greek deity is noticeable; cf. her title Λατῖνα among the Persians (l. 104 and p. 192).

96. Ascalon (*Askalan*) was north of Gaza (l. 99) and south of Στράτωνος Πύργος (l. 94). Sinope (*Sinub*), which was on the north coast of Paphlagonia, is out of place among these Syrian towns. The statue of Sarapis was said to have been brought to Egypt from Sinope; cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 28.

97. πολυώνυμον: cf. introd. and Drexler, *op. cit.* 546–7.

Ῥαφέᾳ: the usual spelling is Ῥαφίᾳ or Ῥαφείᾳ. *Rîfa* is between Rhinocolura (l. 93) and Gaza (l. 99).

98. ἐν Τριπόλει ὀρθωσίαν: cf. l. 225, where the mention of the river Eleutherus shows that *Tarablus* on the Syrian coast north of Berytus (l. 116), not Tripolis in the Cyrenaïca, is meant. A town called Orthosia between Τριπ. and the Eleutherus is mentioned by Strabo, pp. 753–4. For ὀρθωσία cf. l. 39, note.

99. Γάζῃ: *Gazza*, a little south of Ascalon (l. 96).

εὐπλέαν: ἐύπλειος occurs in Hom. ρ 467, but εὔπλεος nowhere else. θ might be read for the first ε and ι for ν, and the fourth letter may be lost altogether; but cf. ll. 88 πανάφθονον, 135 εὐθηνίαν. That εὐπλέαν is a corruption of εὔπλοιαν (cf. l. 74 ὁρμίστριαν) is hardly likely.

Δελφοῖς: no Isis-temple at Delphi itself is known, but Tithora in Phocis had one; cf. Pausan. x. 32. 9 and Drexler, *op. cit.* 387–8.

100. Βαμβύκη (*Bambûk*) was an ancient town east of Antioch and twenty-four miles from the Euphrates. For the worship there of Atargatis (a form of Astarte; cf. l. 116) cf. Pliny, *N. H.* v. 81 *Bambycen quae alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Mabog* (*ibi prodigiosa Atargatis, Graecis autem Derceto dicta colitur*). For other identifications of Isis with Atargatis see Drexler, *op. cit.* 500. The usual forms are Ἀτάργατις or Ἀταργάτη, and -τει here is probably a mistake for -τη (cf. l. 106, note), i. e. the nominative; cf. l. 107, note. At Oxyrhynchus the cult of this goddess occurs in a papyrus to be published in Part XII.

101. [κ]ἀν Δήλῳ: cf. l. 114. Delos inscriptions frequently mention Isis.

102. Ἀμάζοις: i. e. Ἀμαζόσι. Αμαδοις (i. e. Ἀμαδό⟨κο⟩ις) might be read, but στρατίαν (cf. l. 83) suits the Amazons, who were regarded as historical even in late times.

103. India and the Ganges are mentioned in l. 226. That Isis-worship penetrated there was not known previously. For Isis in Thessaly cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 387.

104. *σελήνην*: for the common identification of Isis with the moon, which some Egyptologists consider to be a non-Egyptian idea, cf. Diod. i. 25 and Drexler, *op. cit.* 437–8.

Λατείνην: this title, which suggests that the Persians learnt Isis-worship from the Romans, not the Egyptians, is curious; cf. *Ἑλλάδα* in l. 95.

105. For *Κόρην* cf. l. 72, note. *Θαψ[ε]ῦσιν* or *Ταψ.* (cf. the critical note; the missing letter is quite uncertain) seems to be the equivalent of a Persian appellation; cf. p. 192. Traces of Isis-worship among the Parthians are known; cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 379.

106. For *Νανίαν* or *Ναν(α)ΐαν* (cf. the critical note) cf. *Ἶσις Ναναῖα* at Nabla in the Arsinoïte nome (P. Brit. Mus. 345. 3) and the *Ναναῖον* at Alexandria (e. g. 34. ii. 6). Nanai was an old Babylonian goddess of fertility, identified with Artemis (cf. l. 84), and had a celebrated temple near Susa; cf. 2 Macc. i. 13 and Wagner in Roscher, *op. cit.* iii. 4–5.

Φοίνικι Συρίας: *Φοίνικῃ* would be expected (cf. e. g. Ptol. v. 14. 3), but *Φοῖνιξ* occurs as a place-name, and the form was perhaps intentional, though incorrect; cf. l. 100, note.

107. *θεός*: cf. l. 77, note, and for the case, which continues up to l. 109, ll. 85–6.

Σαμοθρᾴκῃ: this island was the chief centre of the mysteries of the Cabiri, with which Isis may have been connected in Roman times.

108. For Isis-worship at Pergamum cf. Drexler, *Num. Zeitschr.* xxi, p. 55.

109. *ἀ[γά]πην θεῶν*: cf. l. 28 *ἀγάπην* [. . . The first letter might be λ, but λ[ύ]πην does not suit the space. On the extensive evidence for Isis-worship in Italy as well as Rome (l. 83) see Lafaye, *op. cit.*, Drexler in Roscher, *op. cit.* 397–412. She had a temple at Pompeii.

110. *Σάμῳ*: for evidence of Isis-worship there from coins and inscriptions see Drexler, *op. cit.* 381.

111. *μύστειν*: cf. the Ios inscr. 27 *ἐγὼ μυήσεις ἀνθρώποις ἀνέδειξα.*

Μύνδῳ: on the Carian coast, ten miles north-west of Halicarnassus. The head-dress of Isis appears on coins of Myndus; cf. Drexler, *Num. Zeitschr.* xxi. 130.

112. *Ἑλένην*: cf. Hdt. ii. 113–20, Plut. *De Herod. malig.* 12, who states that Menelaüs and Helen received *πολλαὶ τιμαί* in Egypt, and Engelmann in Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 1949–52. For Isis-worship in Bithynia cf. Drexler, *Num. Zeitschr.* xxi. 23.

ἡλίου ὄνομα: cf. e. g. 'eye of the sun' in the Egyptian titles of Isis (Brugsch, *Religion*, 645), and ll. 157–9. *ὄμμα* is inadmissible.

113. *Ἑκά[τ]η*: cf. l. 91 *τριοδεῖτιν* and l. 84 *τριφυήν*. For Isis-worship in Caria cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 119.

114–15. *Δινδύμῃ* implies that the writer considered *Δίνδυμα* to be a feminine singular instead of neuter plural. *τ[ρι]β[ί]αν* could be read in l. 114, but the Latin form is not suitable here (cf. l. 91) and *τ[νμ]β[ί]αν* is unsatisfactory, so that probably the word is a foreign name, like the next. The *ε* of *εν* in l. 115 is not enlarged, as is generally the case with *ἐν* in a new clause, and there is no trace of a stop before it; but *ἐν Τρύ[ῳ]* for *Τύρ[ῳ]* (the absence of which town is remarkable), or *ἐν Τρύ[ᾳ]* for *Τροί[ᾳ]* could be read, making *-παλ* the termination of the preceding name. If not *ρ*, the letter following *τ* can only be *ο*: the next might be *α*, *δ*, or *λ*. For Isis-worship in the Troad cf. Drexler, *Num. Zeitschr.* xxi. 59. *ἀβίβαστον* = *ἄβατον* occurs elsewhere only in an ancient gloss; cf. Stephanus, *Thesaurus.*

116–17. Berytus (*Beirût*), Sidon (*Saïda*), and Ptolemaïs (*Akka*) were between Tripolis (l. 98) and Ascalon (l. 96). For Isis-Astarte in Syria cf. Drexler in Roscher, *op. cit.* 500 and l. 100, note. For *φρονίμ[ην* cf. l. 124.

118. This Susa (cf. l. 105) is apparently unknown, like the title *Σαρκοῦνις*. The *Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα* perhaps means the Persian Gulf (cf. Hdt. i. 180) rather than the Red Sea.

119–20. For Isis *θεσμοφόρος* cf. the Ios Inscr. 8–11 *ἐγὼ νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἐθέμην καὶ*

ἐνομοθέτησα ἃ οὐδεὶς δύναται μεταθεῖναι, and Drexler, *op. cit.* 459–61. What the fifteen *θεσμοί* were is unknown, and the two *προστάγματα* in l. 156 are equally obscure.

121–3. Cf. p. 193 and the Ios Inscr. 19–20 *ἐγὼ θαλάσσια ἔργα εὗρα*.

123–4. For *γραμματική* cf. p. 193, *λογιστική* l. 27, *φρονίμη* ll. 117 and 44, note.

125–6. Cf. ll. 222–6, Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 32 and 'Whose husband is the inundation of the Nile', 'Who maketh the Nile to swell in due season' in Isis' Egyptian titles (Budge, *op. cit.* 278). For *π[ᾶσ]αν χώραν* cf. l. 24 and note. Here, however, *π[ᾶσ]αν ⟨τὴν⟩ χώραν* (cf. l. 151), i. e. Egypt, would be more suitable.

126–7. *τὸ καλὸν ζῷον*: i. e. as a cow; cf. l. 107 *ταυρῶπις* and ll. 161–2, note.

127–8. For *ἱλαρὰν ὄψιν* cf. p. 193, and for *μουσαναγωγόν* l. 62, note.

129. *πολ{ο}υόφθαλμ[ο]ν*: the name Osiris was considered by some to mean *πολυόφθαλμος* according to Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 10, but wrongly; cf. Wiedemann, *op. cit.* 514.

129–32. For Isis as the model wife and mother cf. p. 193, the Ios Inscr. 29 sqq. *ἐγὼ στέργεσθαι γυναῖκας ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ἠνάγκασα . . . ἐγὼ συγγραφὰς γαμικὰ[ς] εὗρα*, and Drexler, *op. cit.* 491. *ἠδία* (or *ἤδεια*) seems to be otherwise unattested.

133. *βό[σ]τρυχον*: the metaphorical use of this word is new and probably represents an ancient Egyptian expression; a lock of hair characterizes many representations of Harpocrates (cf. ll. 135–6, note). But possibly the meaning of *βόστρυχος* here is 'bunch of grapes', alluding to Isis' discovery of wine (ll. 179–83).

134–5. Cf. l. 51, note, and p. 193.

135–6. *τὴν τῶν θεῶν Ἁρποκράτιν*: cf. 'the female Ra', 'the female Horus' in Isis' Egyptian titles (Budge, *op. cit.* 277). The phrase seems to mean 'the darling of the gods' and to be an adaptation from the Egyptian rather than a direct equivalent, since 'Harpocrates' means 'Horus the (male) child', and the feminine would be something like 'Hartshêris'.

137. The stop after *μισεχθ[ή]ν* is uncertain, and there might be one after *πάνταρχον*. *μισεχθής* is not found elsewhere.

138–9. *πιστοῖασπιν* is a curious compound. *τεις τὸ ἰάσπιι⟨ον⟩* might be read, but, though a letter may have been lost at the end of the previous line, *ἄ]γεις* or *| ἄγεις* is inadmissible. For *τ* instead of *γ* cf., however, l. 105 *Μάτοις*. *διάδημα* rather supports *πιστοῖασπιν ἀνέμου* in preference to *πιστό⟨ν⟩· ἀσπὶν ἀνέμου*, or *ἀσπιλίαν ἐμοῦ*, which could also be read. The writer is fond of the adjective *πιστός*, but it does not occur elsewhere in **1380** as a title. There are no other instances of the first person, though this is naturally found in similar invocations. *ἴασπιν* is a known form of the accusative, but not *ἀσπίν*, and *ἀσπίδα* is correctly written in l. 58. For *διάδημα* cf. l. 194. 'Isis of lapis-lazuli' occurs among her titles in the demotic papyrus mentioned on p. 191.

139–41. *αἱ κύνες* might be read for *εἰκόνες*, in which case a dittography of *αἱ* must be supposed. A reference to the dogstar occurs in l. 144, but the Ios Inscr. 27–8 *ἐγὼ ἀγάλματα θεῶν τειμᾶν ἐδίδαξα* confirms *εἰκόνες*: cf. Diod. i. 15. If *πρ* in l. 141 is right, *πρ[οσηγαρί]ας ἔχοντα* is possible, but *-ι τορ[* (or *τυρ*) may be read for *ια πρ[*. *χάρε[ι]τι* or *χάριτι* is just possible, but the first letter is more like λ than *α*, *μ*, or *χ*.

142. *κ[υρ]ία Ἶσι μ[ε]γίστη*: *κ[υρ]ία* is very doubtful, the space being barely sufficient. The first letter of *Ἶσι* perhaps had a diaeresis, as in l. 23. The letter above the line (cf. the critical note) is also very uncertain: perhaps *ἡ ⌈με⌉γίστη* should be read.

143–4. *Ἰοῖ Σῶθι*: for Io = Isis cf. l. 64, note. The reading seems clear. Sothis, the Egyptian name of Sirius, was identified with Isis; cf. e. g. *Ἰσισῶθι* as one word (nom. or voc.) among a number of magical names with which Isis is invoked in P. Brit. Mus. 121. 495, and Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 61, quoted in ll. 221–2, note.

145–6. There is a blank space before *ἐ[πι]νοεῖς*, of which the initial letter is enlarged, but apparently no stop. *κ[αὶ τό* in l. 144 would make that line unusually long, and *ἀμέτρητον*

suits κρατεῖς better than ἐ[πι]νοεῖς, for which cf. l. 173. The τ of θωτα in l. 146 is very uncertain, but καὶ πο[ιε]ῖς κ[ι]θῶνα, which can be read, is hardly satisfactory. With Isis as the inventor of weaving cf. 'weaver and fuller' in her Egyptian titles (Budge, *op. cit.* 278).

146–7. The second letter of σώα[ς might be α and the first and third are very doubtful. συνορμισθ[ῆν]αι is probably to be taken metaphorically (cf. the Ios Inscr. 21–2 ἐγὼ γυναῖκα καὶ ἄνδρα συνήγαγα. ἐγὼ γυναιξὶ δεκάμηνον βρέφος ἐνέταξα), though there seem to be no parallels for this use and ὁρμίστριαν occurs in l. 15.

148–9. This sentence apparently balances the one following. σοί has perhaps been omitted before οἱ. π[can be read for η[at the end of l. 148. There is not room for θύουσι, but which letter was omitted between θ and σ is uncertain.

149. ἅπασαι is very doubtful, but cf. l. 148 ἅπαντες. Possibly the second letter was μ with π written above it. ἅμαξαι (cf. Hdt. ii. 163) does not suit the traces of the fourth letter. Heracleopolis Magna is probably meant, not the Heracleopolis of l. 56.

152. ὁρῶσι makes good sense, referring to visions of Isis in dreams (cf. Drexler, *op. cit.* 522–5); but the supposed traces of letters above the line and the deletion of π are very uncertain. Perhaps ὅπως should be read, the verb being then omitted.

153–5. Probably the corrected word beginning with ε was an aorist, and τξε agrees with ἡμερῶν, such an order being common at this period. The mention of the 365 days (cf. l. 204 ἐ]νιαυτὸν τέλι[ον) may be connected with the circumstance that at Saïs the 5th intercalary day, the last of the year, was the birthday festival of Isis; cf. P. Hibeh 27. 205.

155. For ἠπεία cf. ll. 11 and 86: possibly the ε was deleted. For εὐδιάλλακτος cf. P. Brit. Mus. 122. 28 εὐδιάλεκτος γενοῦ.

156. δ[ύ]ο προσταγμάτων: cf. the fifteen θεσμοί in l. 120. The traces suit δ[ύ]ο better than σ[ῶ]ν, which would moreover be superfluous after σοῦ in l. 155.

157–8. Cf. the Ios Inscr. 18–19 ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνέταξα.

161–2. τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ζῷα is apparently accusative, not nominative. The ἱερὰ ζῷα may have included a sacred cow representing Isis, as the sacred bull at Memphis represented Apis. τῷ Ὀσίριδος ἀδύτῳ (cf. l. 216) probably refers to τὸ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἄσυλον ἐν ᾧ κεῖσθαι τὸν Ὄσιρίν φασιν, situated a little above Saïs (Strabo, p. 803). A stop is expected before ἐν τῷ or ἱλαροί.

166.]. ονται : or] . . ιται.

167. The last word of the line is not βασιλ[έ]α.

170. τὴν γῆν σπορίμην: Isis was especially the goddess of the fields and crops; cf. e. g. the stele quoted by Diod. i. 14 εὑροῦσα τῆς κριθῆς καρπόν.

171. -ασα[.] is probably a verb -ασα[ς] with ἅπαντα beginning a new sentence; but -ατα[.] . [·] πάντα can be read.

173. [ἐ]πινοοῦσα τὴν δρόσον: cf. l. 229 and P. Leyden V. vii. 23 Ἶσις ἡ καλουμένη δρόσος, which Brugsch (*Religion*, 137) connects with the supposed origin of Isis as the morning-glow.

174. There are short blank spaces after -σον and πάντα.

175–7. Cf. ll. 194–6, and Isis as τύχη (l. 51) and νέμεσις (Drexler, *op. cit.* 544–5).

178–9. Cf. p. 193.

179–83. The punctuation is uncertain: there may have been stops after παρέσχες or πρῶτον and after πανηγύρισιν. In l. 180 παντός can be read and]α[ς] or]ο[ν] before παρέσχες. It is not certain that the two letters at the end of the line were deleted. πρῶτον in l. 181 is very dubious, and . ρος τότε is possible. In l. 182 εποπτρα, i. e. ἐπόπτρια (a late form) may have been first written (cf. κατόπτις in l. 87), but the object of the correction (cf. the critical note) is then obscure. ευχεαις (the two last letters are very doubtful) seems to be a mistake for εὐχαῖς or εὐωχίαις, but ἐπικλήσε[σι] cannot be read. Isis is not elsewhere

credited with the discovery of wine, Isis-worship according to Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 6 rather enjoining abstinence from wine.

183–6. After ψ[υχ]ρῶν there seems to be an omission of καὶ θερμῶν. That a stop is lost after συνέστηκεν is not certain, although there is a blank space; if ἐξ ὧν starts a fresh sentence connected only with what follows, there is a further omission in l. 184 of something corresponding to εὑρέτρια ἐγενήθης, but that can be avoided by connecting ἐξ ὧν with what precedes, though π[ά]ντων in l. 186 is then redundant.

187. σο[υ ἐπα]νή[γ]αγες: μ[έγα]ν (cf. l. 242) ἤ[γ]αγες hardly fills up the space, but Ὅσ[ειρι]ν ἤ[γ]. is possible. For ἐπα]νή[γ]αγες cf. l. 126 ἐπανάγουσαν.

189. ἀγ]αθοῦ δαίμονος might refer to the serpent regarded as the good genius of each nome (Renouf, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1890, p. 11; cf. ἀσπίς in l. 58), or possibly to the main western branch of the Nile (Ptol. iv. 5).

193–4. Either ηὔξησας (cf. l. 237) or ἐπ]ηύξ. (cf. l. 297) or κατ]ηύξ. (cf. l. 257) can be read. ἡ[γ]ε|μονίς is very insecure; κε|.[.]. ς is not unlikely. For διαδημάτων cf. l. 139.

194–6. Cf. ll. 175–7. [κιν]ήσεως is possible in l. 195 (cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 62), but the word contrasted with it is not στάσεως.

196–7. After πα (or πλ) there seems to be a correction, but it is not clear whether the letters between πα and ν were deleted. A phrase referring to Osiris is expected (cf. ll. 188–9 and 198), but τοῦ πλέον[τος] is not satisfactory. κυ]ρία is inadmissible in l. 197.

199–200. Perhaps ἐ[ποίη]σας; cf. l. 263. A stop would be expected after it.

202–3. Ἰσ[ι]εῖα can be read; but Ἰσεῖον is the commoner form at this period. For εἰς τὸν [ἅπαν]τα χρόνο[ν κατ]έσ[τ]ησας cf. ll. 213–14.

203–5. For τὰ νόμιμα cf. ll. 244–5, and for ἐ]νιαυτὸν τέλ(ε)ι[ον cf. ll. 153–5, note.

205–6. It is not certain that there were stops after π]αρέδωκας and τόπον. The intervening words are more likely to be governed by π]αρέδωκας than by ἔδιξας in l. 207.

206–7. Perhaps ἐν πάντει τόπ[ῳ κατ]έδιξας (cf. l. 178), the object being ὅτι σὺ κτλ.

209. [π]ᾶν can be read at the beginning of the line, but not [π]αρὰ σοῦ.

210. The letter before ωνα can well be μ, but Ἄμμωνα hardly fills up the space. πο[τ]αμῶν (cf. l. 223) ἀπ[α]ντῆ is also unsuitable. For Horus-Apollo cf. ll. 246–7, note. The general sense of ll. 209–14 is parallel to that of ll. 262–8.

212. κ[. . .]: perhaps κ[ατὰ .].

213. The stop after [πᾶ]σαν seems to be superfluous.

214–16. Cf. Diod. i. 27, who connects the high position of women in Egypt with Isis, and e. g. the alternative names of one of the nomes Γυναικοπολίτης and Ἀνδροπολίτης (l. 21, note).

216. For ἀδύτῳ cf. ll. 162 and 249. The following letter can be η, κ, or π.

217.]οραν suggests φθ]οράν (cf. ll. 175 and 195), but]ορον can be read.

218. Possibly βασίλισσα Ἥρα: cf. e. g. l. 34. At the end of the line κυρι· is all that is visible, and as there is no special trace of the surface being damaged, perhaps κυρί⟨α⟩· should be read. There is however no other instance in 1380 of a participle beginning a fresh sentence.

219. Perhaps [ἐπὶ σ]οῦ: cf. l. 269.

220. πτέρυξ[ι]ν: cf. ll. 65–6, note.

221–2. The supposed vestige of κ after τό can be a diaeresis over ι or υ. For Horus in connexion with the sun cf. l. 233 and Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 61 ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἑρμοῦ λεγομέναις βίβλοις ἱστοροῦσι γεγράφθαι . . . ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορᾶς τεταγμένην δύναμιν Ὧρον, Ἕλληνες δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος οἱ μὲν Ὄσιριν οἱ δὲ Σάραπιν οἱ δὲ Σωθὶ (cf. l. 144) Αἰγυπτιστί.

222–6. Cf. ll. 121–3 and 125–6. ἐπα]νάγει (cf. ἐπανάγουσαν in l. 126) is inadmissible in

l. 224. The Eleutherus (cf. l. 98, note) was quite a small river, and that it should be placed on the same level of sanctity as the Nile and Ganges is remarkable.

227. *ἐνκερ . . ν ἐστιν*: the doubtful *ρ* may be *ι*. *εν* may be *ἓν*. There is a short blank space after *ἐστίν*, but apparently no stop. *χερσαῖον* cannot be read.

230. Whether *γ]ῆς καὶ θαλάσσης* depend on *λ[.]σε[ω]ς* or are coupled with it is not clear; *λ[ύ]σε[ω]ς* in the sense of 'breaking' is not satisfactory.

232. *]ας* is probably the termination of a verb, but *ηὔξ[ησ]ας* (cf. l. 193) is unsuitable. There perhaps ought to have been a stop at the end of the line.

233–4. Cf. ll. 221–2. In l. 234 *απο* might be read at the beginning of the line, and *πλείονα ὥραν* (or *-ρας*) *πᾶν ὄρος* (not *πρός*) further on.

235. The Dioscuri, though frequently associated with Sarapis on Alexandrian coins, are not known to have been specially connected with Isis; but they like her were protectors of travellers by sea, and Isis was a goddess of the stars; cf. l. 159, and Drexler, *op. cit.* 435.

237–9. Cf. ll. 138 and 227–30.

239–42. For the insertion of *τυράννους* proposed in the critical note cf. the Ios Inscr. 29 *ἐγὼ τυράννω[ν ἀ]ρχὰς κατέλυσα*.

242–3. For Isis making Osiris immortal cf. ll. 13 and 246–7, notes.

244–5. Cf. ll. 203–4.

246–7. *ἀθάνατον ἐποίησας* is to be supplied from l. 243. On the immortality conferred by Isis on Horus cf. Diod. i. 25. *τ[ῆ]ς [μητρ]ός* is possible in l. 246, but the doubtful *ο* may be *ω*. Diodorus (*l. c.*) says *τὸν δὲ Ὧρον μεθερμηνευόμενόν φασιν Ἀπόλλωνα* (cf. l. 210) *ὑπάρχειν καὶ τήν τε ἰατρικὴν καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἴσιδος διδαχθέντα διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν* (cf. l. 252, note) *καὶ τῶν θεραπειῶν εὐεργετεῖν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος*.

248–9. Cf. l. 295.

249. *Μέμ[φ]ι*: cf. ll. 1–3, note.

250–2. *αὐτοῦ* is probably a corruption of *αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρός*, for Osiris does not seem to have been mentioned since l. 242 and cf. l. 263 sqq. *διάδοχον αὐτ[ὸ]ν ἐποίησ[ας] . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρίου οἴκου*.

252. *χρησ[μ]ῳ[δ.] .* can refer to either Isis (cf. l. 43) or Horus (cf. l. 266).

254. Perhaps *γ]ῆ[ν καὶ θάλ]α[σ]σαν*: cf. l. 230.

257. Perhaps *εὐ[βούλω]ν*, contrasted with *[ἀ]βουλίαις* in l. 258.

263–4. Cf. ll. 250–2.

264–6. *Ὧρον* cannot be read in l. 264, nor does *βυ* in l. 265 seem to refer to *Ἄβυδος* (cf. l. 279). With *θρόνου* cf. l. 251 *θρονιστής*.

269–71. Cf. l. 51, note.

276. *τι τη[*: or *τυτη[*.

278. *Ἄ]βυδον*: one of the chief reputed tombs of Osiris was there; cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 20.

280–1. Cf. l. 284. *ἀ]φώναντον* seems to be for *ἀ]φώνητον*: cf. the next note.

282. *]λε . εθεῦ*: cf. l. 286 *]τααβδεῦ* and l. 296 *]οιωεανεῦ*. All three seem to be mystical names of Isis in the vocative; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 121. 493–7 and 531–7.

285. *[ἐ]ν τῇ*: or *[ἀ]ντί*.

286. Cf. l. 282, note.

291. For *εἰς] τὸν αἰῶνα*: cf. e. g. l. 268. *τὸν [Ὧρον*, followed by an adjective or substantive, is not unlikely; cf. ll. 209–14.

296. Cf. l. 282, note. *ἰλ[* may well be some part of *ἱλαρός*: cf. ll. 127 and 162.

1381. Praise of Imouthes-Asclepius.

21·8 × 112·5 cm. Second century.

The verso of **1380**, which is in much better condition than the recto, contains an analogous text in honour of a deity whose worship in Roman times to some extent connects through Hermes with that of Isis, namely Imouthes, the Egyptian Imhotep, identified by the Greeks with Asclepius the god of medicine. This deity stands on a somewhat different level from that occupied by most other gods of Egypt, being a historical person who came to be deified, like Amenhotp son of Hapu, a sage whose sayings were still honoured in the Graeco-Roman period, as is shown by a Theban ostracon containing a selection of them (Wilcken, *Festschr. für G. Ebers*, pp. 142 sqq.). In the λόγος τέλειος of Hermes (Pseudo-Apul. 37) Asclepius is coupled with Isis and Hermes as *dii terreni et mundani.* Egyptian writings on his temples and figures made Imhotep the son of Ptah, but attributed to him a human mother and wife. He seems to have been a celebrated sage, physician, and architect, who lived in the time of King Zoser of the 3rd dynasty, as was stated by Manetho, if Sethe's convincing emendation (*Imhotep*, p. 19) of that writer's entry concerning King Zoser, as found in Africanus and Eusebius, be accepted, Τόσορθρος ἔτη κθ' ⟨ἐφ' οὗ Ἰμούθης⟩· οὗτος Ἀσκλήπιος παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν νενόμισται, καὶ τὴν διὰ ξεστῶν λίθων οἰκοδομίαν εὗρατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη. His principal temple, which was on the desert-edge near Memphis, is mentioned in the Serapeum papyri, e.g. P. Leyden i, p. 77 τοῦ πρὸς Μέμφιν μεγάλου Ἀσκληπιείου, and his tomb was supposed to be there (Sethe, *op. cit.* p. 7), not far from the great step-pyramid which he built for Zoser; other temples to him at Thebes and Philae are known. The hieroglyphic evidence concerning Imhotep-worship comes mainly from inscriptions which are of the Ptolemaic age, though perhaps based in some cases on older material, and Sethe considers that his deification did not take place before the 26th dynasty. A. H. Gardiner (*Zeitschr. f. Aeg. Spr.* xl. 146) has pointed out that scribes were accustomed at least as early as the 18th dynasty to pour out the last drop of the water with which they mixed their ink as a libation to Imhotep. An ancient hymn, dating probably from the 11th dynasty, which couples Imhotep with Hardedef, a wise and pious prince of the 4th dynasty (cf. l. 7, note), is thought by Sethe to show that he was then regarded only as a sage. The author of **1381**, however, asserts that the respect paid to Imhotep in late times was the revival of a worship encouraged or instituted by the celebrated king Mencheres

of the 4th dynasty, but such attributions of great antiquity to religious foundations have commonly little historical value; cf. pp. 223–4.

Eleven columns, each of twenty-two or twenty-three lines, are for the most part well preserved, and few of the lacunae present serious difficulties. The author of the composition was primarily concerned with giving a paraphrase, rather than a literal translation, of an ancient Egyptian papyrus-roll concerning the worship of Imhotep, who in ll. 201–2 is called Imouthes son of Ptah, elsewhere, e. g. in ll. 228–9, Asclepius son of Hephaestus; but the extant portion, which from internal evidence clearly comes from a point near the beginning of the work, is mainly of a prefatory character, and the actual paraphrase is not reached until Col. x. Lines 1–32 describe the circumstances attending the discovery of the roll, apparently at the temple of Imhotep at Memphis (cf. l. 4, note), in the time of Nectanebo, the last of the Pharaohs and the subject of a number of legends in the popular literature of the Graeco-Roman period, e. g. the widely spread story of his being the father of Alexander, and the tale of his dream preserved in P. Leyden U (Wilcken, *Mélanges Nicole*, 579–96). Owing to the loss of, probably, one or two columns at the outset, it is not known whether the writer stated the authority for his story about Nectanebo, which is likely in any case to have been derived from the priests of the Ἀσκληπιεῖον. The worship of Imhotep had, it appears, decayed in the troublous times preceding that monarch, and the temple was largely deserted when the king, with a view to restoring the worship on its former basis, caused an examination of an ancient roll found there to be made through his 'archidicastes', with the result that the descendants of a number of priests had posts of emolument revived for them, and the king made a large present of land to the temple. In l. 32 the author enters upon a rather long personal explanation of the reasons which had led him first to undertake and then to postpone the publication of this ancient document in the Greek language (ll. 33–64), and after three years interval to resume his work at the direct instigation of the god, who is represented as having miraculously appeared to him and his mother and cured him of a fever (ll. 64–167). After further explanations addressed to Asclepius concerning the nature of this composition in his honour (ll. 168–202), and an invocation of pious worshippers (ll. 203–18), the writer proceeds to paraphrase the contents of the roll, but at l. 247 the text breaks off soon after it had reached the really interesting point.

The principal facts which emerge from the fragmentary account of the ancient Egyptian document are that it traced Imhotep-worship back to Mencheres, i. e. *Menkaura*, the Mycerinus of Herodotus (l. 222; cf. ll. 28–32), and that the tomb of Imhotep is classed with those of 'Horus son of Hermes and also Caleoibis son of Apollo' as having been the object of special honours from that king

(ll. 228–34). Menkaura, the builder of the third pyramid of Gîza, was worshipped, like his more famous predecessors Cheops (*Khufu*) and Chephren (*Khafra*), in Saïte times, when scarabs with his name are common, and his piety, which was described apparently in some detail in the document with which our author is concerned, is often alluded to in Egyptian religious tales. Herodotus (ii. 129), followed by Diodorus (i. 64), contrasts his virtues with the vices of Khufu and Khafra for reasons which as regards the two latter are not clear (cf. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 479); but the statements of the ancient Egyptian roll that no wars occurred in the time of Menkaura, and that the country was extremely prosperous, are in accordance with popular tradition, and whether the worship of Imhotep really dated from early times or not (cf. p. 221) that monarch is a most natural person to be associated with its institution or encouragement. The Old Empire kings were sometimes credited with composing books themselves, and from the manner in which Menkaura is connected with the βίβλος in both places in which he is mentioned it is quite possible that he was nominally the author of the roll. This was of considerable antiquity since it apparently required to be repaired by Nectanebo (ll. 24–5, note), though owing to the loss of the first column or two of **1381**, in which the age of the book may well have been described, and the uncertainty attaching to the precise restoration of ll. 226–7, it is safer to suppose that the roll was, in reality at any rate, the composition of a priest. The fact that it professed to have been written under the Old Empire is, however, compatible with a date not earlier than the Saïte period, when the archaizing tendency of the age probably led to the production of much religious literature concerning the ancient kings. But so far as it goes, the evidence of **1381** favours the view that the worship of Imhotep began in the early days of Egyptian history.

The interesting mention of the tombs of Asclepius, Horus, and Caleoibis honoured by Menkaura presents several problems. The name Καλεοῖβις is not found elsewhere, though Καλῖβις occurs in P. Grenf. ii. 32. 7, and no known ancient Egyptian deity bears a name which suggests an identification. His father, Apollo, would naturally be the god Horus, with whom Apollo was regularly identified in Graeco-Roman times (e. g. Hdt. ii. 156, Diod. i. 25, Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 12), but the four known sons of Horus were called Hapi, Mestha, Qebhsenuf, and Duamutf. Another difficulty arises from the mention of Horus son of Hermes (i. e. Thoth), who is distinguished from Apollo. Horus in late times (and probably in early times as well) was uniformly regarded as the son of Osiris, and it is remarkable, if Horus here is the ordinary deity of that name, that no legends about his tomb appear to be known, although Isis was sometimes supposed to have been buried at Memphis (cf. **1380**. 1–3, note), and many towns

claimed to possess the tomb of Osiris. Unless Apollo here means some other god than Horus, which is unlikely, there would seem to be only two suitable explanations of the distinction between Horus son of Hermes and Apollo. Either Horus son of Hermes was a deified man on the same level as Imhotep, being earlier than the 4th dynasty and the reputed son of a god, in which case he and Horus = Apollo have nothing to do with each other; or else of the various local legends out of which the Horus-gods grew (cf. Budge, *op. cit.* i. 466 sqq.), two different myths are here associated, one making him a deified man (Horus son of Thoth), who had a tomb, the other placing him on a level with Ptah and Thoth and assigning to him a son Caleoibis, who in any case is likely to have been a deified man like Imhotep rather than an ordinary god. In support of the second view may be urged the somewhat similar conflict of testimony about Thoth, who under the title Ἑρμῆς ὁ Θηβαῖος was coupled by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21) with Ἀσκλήπιος ὁ Μεμφίτης as an example of a deified man. Sethe (*op. cit.* 9) connects Ἑρμῆς ὁ Θηβαῖος with the Theban temple of 'Thoth-Teos, the ibis', who, he thinks, was a deified high-priest of Memphis; but this explanation is somewhat doubtful, particularly with regard to Clement's Hermes; cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 118 sqq. In view of the many forms taken by Horus-worship and the antiquity claimed for this Egyptian roll in **1381** we prefer to interpret 'Horus son of Hermes' as the ordinary Horus, and regard the reference to the tombs of Asclepius, Horus, and an unknown Caleoibis, all in connexion with a 4th dynasty king, as another proof of the early character of the source whence this tradition was derived.

That part of the preface which deals with the writer's personal affairs and occupies the bulk of **1381** incidentally throws a few sidelights on Imhotep-worship. The expression ταύτης (sc. γραφῆς) εὑρετής applied to him in ll. 187–8 is in keeping with the statements of Manetho (cf. p. 221) and an author quoted by Stobaeus, *Ecl. phys.* i. 41, who says that Asclepius invented ποιητική as well as ἰατρική. The invocation to pious worshippers (ll. 203–15) represents him not only in his usual character of healer of diseases, protector of physicians, and general benefactor, but also as specially concerned with the pursuit of virtue, and as the protector of seafarers, a function generally performed by Isis or the Dioscuri. With regard to the writer himself it is clear from ll. 145–51 that he was not a priest, and in none of his references to the healing art is there any indication that he was a physician. Where he lived is not stated; probably his home was at Memphis near the Ἀσκληπιεῖον (cf. ll. 70–3, 145–51, and p. 221). From his assertion in ll. 170–4 that he had previously composed a 'physical' treatise on the creation of the world, and the passage in which he addresses Asclepius as διδάσκαλος in connexion with his composition (ll. 181–98), he seems to have been

by profession a literary man, with a knowledge of ancient Egyptian (ll. 32–5) and interested in mythology, being probably familiar with the works of the later Greek sophists and early writers of romances, as is indicated by his florid style and fondness for semi-poetical expressions and rare compounds, such as ἀκεσώδυνος and ἀλλαττόλογος. The date of the MS. shows that the composition of the work took place not later than the early part of the second century, and it may belong, like that of **1380**, to the first; but it was probably at least two centuries later than Pap. V of Leyden (second century B. C.) and not far removed from the age of Aristides, whose oration εἰς Ἀσκλήπιον covers different ground from that of **1381**, and Apuleius, who, like Aristides, flourished under the Antonines. Apuleius composed a treatise *De mundo* which is extant, an address in honour of Aesculapius which is lost, and a dialogue and hymn in honour of the same god, partly in Greek partly in Latin, of which an extract from the preface is preserved in his *Flor.* 18, and an extant Latin translation of the Greek dialogue between Hermes Trismegistus and Asclepius was attributed to him. If any of his Greek treatises had survived, the style would very likely have shown several of the same characteristics as that of **1381**, though the rhetorical description of the appearance of Asclepius in ll. 91–140 was perhaps more on a level with the compositions of persons who had been cured at the Serapeum of Canopus, to which Strabo alludes in p. 801 *ξυγγράφουσι δέ τινες καὶ τὰς θεραπείας, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων* (cf. **1382**), than with the highly elaborated description of the appearance of Isis to Lucius in *Metam.* xi or Aristides' account of his visions of Asclepius in the ἱεροὶ λόγοι.

The text of **1381** is not very accurate and bears no trace of a systematic revision. The only interlinear addition concerns the spelling of Μενχορήους, ε being written above η in a hand which may be different from that of the main text but is more likely to be the same. A number of small omissions occur and the construction of several sentences breaks down, though it is not always certain that this was the scribe's fault; cf. ll. 24–5, 59, 97, 129–30, 136, 222, and 226–8, notes. Pauses in the sense are sometimes indicated by blank spaces, which also sometimes appear, owing to roughness of the surface, in other positions. A single (medial) stop is found in l. 167, but no other diacritical marks except diaeresis. The papyrus is referred to in the notes as Π.

Col. i.

[. .]ν τ̣α̣[ῦτ]α̣ ἀκούσας ὁ Ν̣ε̣[κτε-
[νε]ῖβις καὶ παροξυνθεὶς [σ]φόδρα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποστατ[ο]ῦσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, βουλόμεν[ο]ς

Col. ii.

σαν ἑκάστῳ π[ροφ]ητείαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ [. . π]οιήσας τὴν
βίβλον ἀναν[εώ]σεως αὐτὸν Ἀ[σ]κλήπιον [ἐπλο]ύτισεν ἄλ-

δὲ ἐξ ἀναγραφῆς τὸ πλῆ[θ]ος αὐ-
τῶν ἐπικρεῖναι θᾶτ[τ]ον, πα-
ρεκελεύετο Νεχαύτι [τ]ῷ διέ-
ποντι τότε τὴν ἀρχιδ[ι]κ[ασ]τ̣ε̣[ί-
αν ἔραυναν τῆς βίβλου μ̣η̣⟨νὶ⟩
ἐνὶ μάλιστα ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ
ἐκτενέστερον αὐτὴν ἀναζη-
τήσας ἐκόμισε τῷ βασιλεῖ,
δ[ύ]ο [ἀν]τὶ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν
μόνον ἀναλώσας εἰς τὴν
[ζ]ήτησιν. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ ὁ βασι-
[λε]ὺς πανὺ μὲν ἠγάσθη ἐπὶ
τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας θείῳ, ἓξ δὲ
καὶ εἴκοσι εὑρὼν ἱερεῖς [τ]οὺς
ἀπὸ Ἡλίου πόλεως προπ̣[ο]μ-
πεύσαντας τὸν θεὸ[ν] εἰς τὴ̣[ν
Μέμφιν ἀπένειμεν̣ αὐτῶν
τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τὴν προ[σ]ήκου-
λ[αι]ς πυροφόροις ἀρούραις τρια-
κοσίαις τριάκοντα, καὶ μάλ[ι-]
στα ἀκούσας διὰ τῆς βίβλου
τὸν θεὸν ὑπὸ Μ̣ε̣νχορέους̣
[εἰ]ς̣ μέγεθος ἠσκημένον σε-
[β]ασμῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ πολλάκις τῆς
[α]ὐτῆς βίβλου τὴν ἑρμηνείαν
[ἀρ]ξάμενος Ἑλληνίδι γλ[ώ]σσῃ
[ἔμ]α̣θον ὀν αἰῶνι κηρῦξαι, καὶ
ἐ̣ν̣ μέσῃ ῥεύων τῇ γραφῇ
ἐπεσχέθην τὴν προθυμίαν
τῷ τῆς ἱστόριας [[τω]] μεγέθει,
δ[ι]ότι ἔξω ἐλεῖν ἔμελλο[ν] α̣ὐ̣-
τήν· θε[οῖ]ς̣ γὰρ μόνοι[ς] ἀλλ' οὐ
[θν]ητοῖς ἐ[[φ]]φικ[[. .]]τ[ὸ]ν̣ τὰς θε-
ῶν διηγεῖσθα[ι] δυνάμεις. οὐ
γὰρ ἀποτυχό[ν]τι μοι μόνον
αἰδὼς ἦν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ

4. ἵερου Π. 18. ἵερεις Π. 24–5. l. τῆς βίβλου ἀναν[έω]σιν?. 30. Second ε of μενχορεους above η. 35. l. ἐν for ον. 38. ἵστοριας Π, α being corrected.

Col. iii.

καὶ ἐκ̣ώ̣λ̣υ̣σ̣έ̣ [με τ]ὰ κ̣α̣τ̣ι̣ό[ντα . . .]
δ̣ια̣ ἀγανακτήσαντο̣ς̣ [καὶ ἀθα-
νάτου ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ τ[ὸ τῆς γρ]α-
φῆ[ς] σ[υ]ν̣π̣λ̣η̣ρουμέ̣ν̣[ης] τ̣[απεί-]
νωμ̣α̣, ὀ̣φ̣ε̣λ̣ή̣σαντι δ[ ]ὲ ὁ βί[ο]ς
μὲν εὐδαίμων, ἡ δὲ [ ] φήμη
[ἀ]θάν̣α̣[τ]ο̣ς̣. ἑτοιμότε[ ]ρος γὰρ ὁ
θεὸς πρὸ[ς] ε[ὐε]ργεσία[ ]ν εἴ γε καὶ
τοὺς αὐτ⟨ίκ⟩α μ̣ό̣ν̣ο̣ν̣ εὐ[ ]σεβεῖς
τῇ προθυμίᾳ πολλά[ ]κις ἀπηυ-
δηκυίης τῆς ἰατρικ[ ]ῆς πρὸς
τὰς κατεχούσας αὐτοὺ[ ]ς νόσους

Col. iv.

σκ̣[ήψασα ἄ]θεος τεταρταίᾳ ἡ
φρείκη αὐτὴν ἐστρόβει, ὀψὲ
μόλις νοήσαντες ἱκέτ[α]ι πα-
ρῆμεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τῇ ⟨μ⟩ητρὶ [ ]
ωμενοι ἄκεσιν ἐπινεῦσαι
τῆς νόσου. ὁ δ' οἷα καὶ πρὸς πάν-
τας χρηστὸς δι' ὀνειράτων
φανεὶς εὐτελέσιν αὐτὴν
ἀπήλλαξεν βοηθήμασιν,
ἡμεῖς δὲ [[μη]] τὰς ἐοικυίας
δ[ι]ὰ θυσιῶν τῷ σώσαντι
ἀπεδίδομεν χάριτας. ἐπεὶ

ἔσωσεν. ὅθεν φυγὼν [τὸ ῥ]ει̣ψοκίν-
δυνον [εἰ]ς καιρὸν ἐτ[ ]ήρουν
τὸν τ̣οῦ ⟨γ⟩ήρ[ο]υς, ἀ̣νε[β]α[ ]λλό[μ]η̣ν ⟨δὲ⟩
τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. τότ[ ]ε γὰ[ρ] μά-
λιστα περισσόν τι τὴ[ ]ν ἡλικίαν
φρονεῖν πέφυκε, τ̣[α]χὺ γὰρ ἡ
νε[ότ]ης καὶ ἐφ[ορ]μὴ φ[ ]θάνει
ὀρέγουσα τὴν προθυ[μί]αν. ἐπ̣εὶ
δ̣ὲ τ̣[ρ]ι̣ετὴς πα̣[ρ]ᾠχητ̣[ο] χρόνος
μ[ηδ]ὲν ἔτ̣ι μ[ο]υ̣ κάμν[ ]οντος,
τρ[ιε]τὴς δ[ὲ . .] τ̣ῇ μητ[ ]ρὶ ἐπι-
δὲ κἀμοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰφνι-
δι[ο]ν ἄλγημα κατὰ δεξιοῦ
ἐρύη πλευροῦ, ταχὺς ἐπὶ
τὸν βοηθὸν τῆς ἀνθρω-
πίνης ὥ[ρ]μησα φύσεως,
[καὶ] πάλιν ἑτοιμότερος
ὑπακούσας εἰς ἔλεον
[ἐ]νεργέστε[ρ]ον τὴν ἰδίαν
ἀπεδείξατο εὐεργεσίαν,
ἣν ἐπαληθειῶ μέλλων
τὰς αὐτοῦ φρικτὰς δυ-

49. l. ὠφελήσαντι. 54–5. απηϋδηκνϊης της ϊατρικης Π. 59. l. ⟨γ⟩ήρως. 70. ϊκεται Π. 77. μ̈η Π. α of τας corr. from ε. 86. υ of υπακουσας corr. 87. ϊδιαν Π.

Col. v.

ν[ά]με[ι]ς ἀπαγγέλλειν. νὺξ
ἦν ὅτε πᾶν [ἐ]κεκοίμητο
ζῷον πλὴν τῶν ἀλγ[ο]ύν-
των, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἐνεργέ-
στερον ἐφαίνετο, καί με
σφοδρὸς ἔφλεγε πυρ⟨ετ⟩ός, ἄσθμα-
τί τε καὶ βηκὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ
πλευρ[οῦ] ἀναγομέν[η]ς ὀδύ-
νης ἐσφαδάϊζον· καρηβα-
ρηθεὶς [δ]ὲ τοῖς πόνοις {ἀ}λή-
θαργος [ε]ἰς ὕπνον ἐφερό-
μην· [ἡ] δὲ μήτηρ ὡς ἐπὶ
παιδί, κα[ὶ] φύ[σ]ει φιλόστοργος
γάρ ἐστιν, ταῖς ἐμαῖς ὑπερ-
αλγ[ο]ῦσα βασάνοις ἐκαθέ-
ζετο μηδὲ καθ' ὀλίγον ὕπνου
μετ[α]λαμβάνουσα. εἶτ' ἐξαπ[ί]-
νης ἑώρα—οὔτ' ὄναρ οὔθ' ὕ-
πνος, ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν

Col. vi.

δέ̣[ο]υ̣ς εἰσῄει φαντασία[[ν]],
καὶ ἀκό[π]ως κατ[ο]πτεύειν
κωλύουσα εἴτε αὐτὸν τὸν
θεὸν εἴτε αὐτοῦ θεράποντας. πλὴν ἦν τις ὑπερμή-
κης μὲν ἢ κατ' ἄνθρω-
πον λαμπ[ρ]αῖς ἡμφιεσμέ-
νος ὀθόναις τῇ εὐωνύ-
μῳ χειρὶ φέρων βίβλον,
ὃς μόνον ἀπὸ κεφαλ[ῆ]ς
ἕως ποδῶν δὶς καὶ τρ[ὶ]ς
ἐπισκοπήσας με ἀφανὴς
ἐγ[έ]νετο. ἡ δὲ ἀνανήψασα
ἔτι τρομώδης ἐγείρειν με
ἐπειρᾶτο. εὑροῦ̣[σ]α δέ με
τοῦ μὲν [π]υρετοῦ ἀπηλ[λ]α-
γμένον [ἰ]δρῶτα δέ μοι πολ-
λοῦ ἐπαπ[ο]λισθάνοντος
τὴν μὲ̣[ν] τοῦ θε[ο]ῦ προσε-

ἀκείνητοι διηνυγμένοι,
βλέποντες μὲν οὐκ ἀκρει-
βῶς, θ[[.]]εία γὰρ αὐτὴν μετὰ
κύνησε[ν] ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐ-
μὲ δὲ ἀπ[ο]μάσσουσα ν[η]φα-
λιώτε[ρο]ν ἐποίησεν. καὶ
διαλα[λή]σαντί μοι τὴν τοῦ

99. εσφαδαΐζον Π. 108. ο of οναρ corr. from α. 110. l. διηνοιγμένοι. 129–30. l. μου πολὺν ἐπαπ[ο]λισθάνοντα.

Col. vii.

θεοῦ πρ[οε]λομένῃ μηνύειν ἀρε-
τὴν προλαβὼν ἐγὼ πάντα ἀ-
πήγγελον αὐτῇ· ὅσα [γ]ὰρ δι[ὰ] τῆς
ὄψεως εἶδεν ταῦτα ἐγ[ὼ] δι' ὀ-
νειράτων ἐφαντασιώθην.
καὶ τῶνδε τῆς πλευρᾶς λωφη-
σάντων μοι ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι
μοι μί[α]ν δοντὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκε-
σώδυνον ἰατρείαν, ἐκήρυσσον
αὐτοῦ [τ]ὰς εὐεργεσίας. πάλιν δ' ἡ-
μῶν ταῖς κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτὸν
ἐξευμενισαμένων θυ[σ]ίαις
αὐτὸς ἀπῄτει διὰ [τ]οῦ ἐν ἀγνείαις
αὐτῷ προσπολοῦντ[ο]ς ἱερέως
τὴν πάλαι κατηγγελμένην αὐτῷ
ὑπόσχεσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ θυ-
σιῶν μήτε ἀναθήματ[ο]ς χρε-
ώστας αὐτοὺς εἰδότες ὅμως
τού[το]ις αὐτὸν πάλιν ἱκετεύ-
ομ[ε]ν. ὡς [δ'] οὐ τούτοις πο[λ]λάκις
εἶπε{ι}ν ἥδεσθαι ἀλλὰ τῷ προ-
καθωμολ[ο]γημένῳ διηπό-

Col. viii.

ρ[ο]υ[ν, κα]ὶ μόλις ταπεινοῦν-
τί μοι τοῦτο τὸ θεῖο[ν] τῆ[ς] γρα-
φῆς ὑπῆει με χρέος. ἐπεὶ
δ' ἅπαξ ἐπεγνώκει[ς] μ[ε] [ἀ]με[[λ]]-
λεῖν, δέσποτα, τῆς θεί[α]ς βί-
βλου, τὴν σὴν ἐπικαλεσάμε-
νος πρόνοιαν καὶ [ ]πλη[[ρ]]-
ρωθεὶς τῆς σῆς θε[ι]ότητος
ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἱστορία[ς] ὥρμη-
σα θεήλατον ἆθλον. καὶ
οἶμαι κατα[πλ]ώσειν [τ]ὴν
σὴν προφη[τε]ύων ἐπίνοι-
αν· καὶ γὰρ [τὸ]ν τῆς κοσμο-
ποιίας πιθ[α]νολ[ο]γηθέν-
τα μῦθον ἐν ἑτέρᾳ β[ί]βλῳ
φυσικῷ πρὸ[ς] ἀλήθειαν ἀνή-
πλωσα λόγῳ. καὶ ἐν τῇ ὅλῃ
γραφῇ τ[ὸ] μὲν ὕστερον προσ-
επλήρωσα, τὸ δὲ περ[ί]σσευ-
ον ἀφεῖλον, διήγημα δέ
που μακρολογούμ[ε]νο[ς]
συντόμως ἐλάλησα

144. ϊατρειαν Π. 145. η of ημων corr. 149. ϊερεως Π. 154. ϊκετευομ[ε]ν Π. 164. ι of και corr. from τ?. 166. ϊστορια[ς] Π. 167. αθλον· Π. 168. l. καθα[πλ]ώσειν. 170–1. κοσμο-ποιΐας Π. 175. ϋστερον Π.

Col. ix.

καὶ ἀλλαττόλογο[ν μῦθ]ον
ἅπαξ ἔφρασα, ὅθεν, [δέσ]ποτα,
κατὰ τὴν σὴν εὐμ[ένει]αν
ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐμ[ὴν φρ]ό-
νησιν τετελεσιουρ[γ]ῆ[σ]θαι
τεκμαίρομαι τὴν β[ίβλ]ον.
τῇ γ[ὰ]ρ σῇ θειότητι [το]ιαύ-
τη ἁ[ρ]μόζει γ[ρ]αφή. τ[αύτ]ης
δ' εὑρετής, μέγιστε [θε]ῶν
Ἀσκλήπιε κ[αὶ] διδάσ[κ]αλε,
κα[ὶ] ταῖς ἀπ[άν]των δί[κ]νυ-
σαι χάρισι. [πᾶ]σα γὰρ [ἀ]να-
θήματος ἢ [θ]υσίας δ[ω]ρεὰ
τὸν παραυτ[ί]κα μ[ό]ν[ο]ν
ἀκμάζει κα[ιρ]όν, ἔφθαρ-
ται δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα, γρα-
φὴ δὲ ἀθάνατος χάρ[ι]ς κα-
τὰ καιρὸν ἀνηβάσκ[ο]υσα
τὴ[ν] μνήμην. Ἕλλην[ὶ]ς δὲ
π[ᾶ]σα γλῶσσα τὴν σὴν λα-
λ[ή][[. .]]σε[ι] ἱστορίαν κ[αὶ] πᾶς
Ἕλ[λ]ην ἀνὴρ τὸν τ[ο]ῦ Φθᾶ
σεβήσεται Ἰμού[θ]ην.

Col. x.

σύνι[τε δε]ῦρο, [ὦ ἄν]δρες
εὐμ[ενεῖς] κα[ὶ ἀγα]θοί, ἄπι-
τε, βάσκα[νοι] κ[αὶ] ἀσεβεῖς·
σύν[ι]τε, ὦ [. . .]ο[. .] . [.], ὅσοι θη-
τεύ[σ]αντε[ς] τὸν [θ]εὸν νό-
σω[ν] ἀπηλλάγητε, [ὅ]σοι
τὴν ἰατρικὴν με[ταχ]ειρί-
ζεσθε ἐπι[σ]τήμη[ν, ὅσ]οι
ποιήσετε ζηλ[ωτα]ὶ ἀρε-
τῆς, ὅσο[ι] πολλῷ πλήθει
ἐπηύξή[θ]ητε ἀγαθῶν,
ὅσοι κινδύνους θαλάσσης
π[ρ]ιεσώθητε. εἰς πάν-
τα γὰρ τόπον διαπεφοίτη-
κεν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις
σωτήριος. μέλλω γὰρ αὐτοῦ
τερατώδεις ἀπαγγέλλειν
ἐπ[ι]φανείας δυνάμεως
τε μεγέθη εὐε[ρ]γετημά-
των ⟨τε⟩ δωρήματα. ἔχει δὲ οὕ-
τως· [ὁ] βασιλεὺς Μενε-
χέρης τριῶν θεῶν κη-
δε[ί]αν [εὐ]σεβήσας αἰωνίαν

200. ἱστοριαν Π. 205. ει of ασεβεις corr. from η. 209. ἰατρικην Π. 215. ε of εις corr.

Col. xi.

εἴληφε δόξαν, [καὶ διὰ τῆς?
βίβλου τὴν φ[ήμην εὐτυ-?
χήσας. τὴν τ[οῦ Ἀσκλη-
πίου παιδὸς Ἡφ[αίστου τα-
φὴν καὶ τὴν τ[οῦ Ὧ]ρου Ἑρ[-
μ[ο]ῦ ἔτι δὲ Καλ[εοίβιος

τε Αἴγυπτος διὰ τοῦτο κ[α]ὶ
καρποῖς ἀφ⟨θ⟩όνοις εὐθη-
νεῖτο. τῇ γὰρ τοῦ προεσ-
τῶτος εὐσεβείᾳ ὑποτε-
ταγμέναι εὐπ[ορ]οῦσι χῶ-
[ρ]αι, καὶ τοὐνα[ντί]ον ἐφ' οἷς

Ἀπόλλωνος παιδὸς ἀφθό-
νο[ι]ς χρήμασιν δωρησά-
μενος ἀντάποιναν ἔσ-
χεν εὐδαιμονίας πλή-
θος. ἀπολέμητος γὰρ τό-
ἐκεῖνος δυσσ[εβε]ῖ ἐπὶ
τούτοις κακοῖς [ἀ]ναλίσκον-
ται. ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἔχρη-
σεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸ[ς Ἀ]σκλήπιος
σπουδάζειν αὐτ[ο]ῦ περὶ

'Nectenibis on hearing this, being extremely vexed with the deserters from the temple and wishing to ascertain their number speedily by a list, ordered Nechautis, who then performed the duties of archidicastes, to investigate the book within a month, if possible. Nechautis conducted his researches with much strenuousness, and brought the list to the king after spending only two days instead of thirty upon the inquiry. On reading the book the king was quite amazed at the divine power in the story, and finding that there were twenty-six priests who conducted the god from Heliopolis to Memphis, he assigned to each of their descendants the due post of prophet. Not content with this, after completing the renewal of the book (?), he enriched Asclepius himself with three hundred and thirty arurae more of corn-land, especially because he had heard through the book that the god had been worshipped with marks of great reverence by Mencheres.

Having often begun the translation of the said book in the Greek tongue, I learnt at length how to proclaim it, but while I was in the full tide of composition my ardour was restrained by the greatness of the story, because I was about to make it public; for to gods alone, not to mortals, is it permitted to describe the mighty deeds of the gods. For if I failed, not only was I ashamed before men, but also hindered by the reproaches (?) that I should incur if the god were vexed, and by the poverty of my description, in course of completion, of his undying virtue (?). But if I did the god a service, both my life would be happy and my fame undying; for the god is disposed to confer benefits, since even those whose pious ardour is only for the moment are repeatedly preserved by him after the healing art has failed against diseases which have overtaken them. Therefore avoiding rashness I was waiting for the favourable occasion afforded by old age, and putting off the fulfilment of my promise; for then especially is youth wont to aim too high, since immaturity and enterprise too quickly extend our zeal. But when a period of three years had elapsed, in which I was no longer working, and for three years my mother was distracted by an ungodly quartan ague which had seized her, at length having with difficulty comprehended we came as suppliants before the god, entreating him to grant my mother recovery from the disease. He, having shown himself favourable, as he is to all, in dreams, cured her by simple remedies; and we rendered due thanks to our preserver by sacrifices. When I too afterwards was suddenly seized with a pain in my right side, I quickly hastened to the helper of the human race, and he, being again disposed to pity, listened to me, and displayed still more effectively his peculiar clemency, which, as I am intending to recount his terrible powers, I will substantiate.

It was night, when every living creature was asleep except those in pain, but divinity showed itself the more effectively; a violent fever burned me, and I was convulsed with loss of breath and coughing, owing to the pain proceeding from my side. Heavy in the head with my troubles I was lapsing half-conscious into sleep, and my mother, as a mother would for her child (and she is by nature affectionate), being extremely grieved at my agonies was sitting without enjoying even a short period of slumber, when suddenly she perceived—it was no dream or sleep, for her eyes were open immovably, though not seeing clearly, for a divine and terrifying vision came to her, easily preventing her from observing the god himself

or his servants, whichever it was. In any case there was some one whose height was more than human, clothed in shining raiment and carrying in his left hand a book, who after merely regarding me two or three times from head to foot disappeared. When she had recovered herself, she tried, still trembling, to wake me, and finding that the fever had left me and that much sweat was pouring off me, did reverence to the manifestation of the god, and then wiped me and made me more collected. When I spoke with her, she wished to declare the virtue of the god, but I anticipating her told her all myself; for everything that she saw in the vision appeared to me in dreams. After these pains in my side had ceased and the god had given me yet another assuaging cure, I proclaimed his benefits. But when we had again besought his favours by sacrifices to the best of our ability, he demanded through the priest who serves him in the ceremonies the fulfilment of the promise long ago announced to him, and we, although knowing ourselves to be debtors in neither sacrifices nor votive offering, nevertheless supplicated him again with them. But when he said repeatedly that he cared not for these but for what had been previously promised, I was at a loss, and with difficulty, since I disparaged it, felt the divine obligation of the composition. But since thou hadst once noticed, master, that I was neglecting the divine book, invoking thy providence and filled with thy divinity I hastened to the inspired task of the history. And I hope to extend by my proclamation the fame of thy inventiveness; for I unfolded truly by a physical treatise in another book the convincing account of the creation of the world. Throughout the composition I have filled up defects and struck out superfluities, and in telling a rather long tale I have spoken briefly and narrated once for all a complicated story. Hence, master, I conjecture that the book has been completed in accordance with thy favour, not with my aim; for such a record in writing suits thy divinity. And as the discoverer of this art, Asclepius, greatest of gods and my teacher, thou art distinguished by the thanks of all men. For every gift of a votive offering or sacrifice lasts only for the immediate moment, and presently perishes, while a written record is an undying meed of gratitude, from time to time renewing its youth in the memory. Every Greek tongue will tell thy story, and every Greek man will worship the son of Ptah, Imouthes. Assemble hither, ye kindly and good men; avaunt ye malignant and impious! Assemble, all ye . . ., who by serving the god have been cured of diseases, ye who practise the healing art, ye who will labour as zealous followers of virtue, ye who have been blessed by great abundance of benefits, ye who have been saved from the dangers of the sea! For every place has been penetrated by the saving power of the god.

I now purpose to recount his miraculous manifestations, the greatness of his power, the gifts of his benefits. The history is this. King Mencheres by displaying his piety in the obsequies of three gods, and being successful in winning fame through the book, has won eternal glory. He presented to the tombs of Asclepius son of Hephaestus, Horus son of Hermes, and also Caleoibis son of Apollo money in abundance, and received as recompense his fill of prosperity. For Egypt was then free from war for this reason, and flourished with abundant crops, since subject countries prosper by the piety of their ruler, and on the other hand owing to his impiety they are consumed by evils. The manner in which the god Asclepius bade Mencheres busy himself with his tomb . . .'

1. τα[ῦτ]α: the supposed τ has an unusually short cross-bar on the left, and perhaps πο[λλ]ά should be read. The preceding word might be [. . .]ι. From the references to τοῦ ἱεροῦ (l. 4), τῆς βίβλου (l. 9), and τὸν θεό[ν] (l. 20), as if they had been mentioned previously, it is clear that Col. i is not the actual beginning of the papyrus, which on the recto breaks off in the middle of a column at this point.

Νε[κτενε]ῖβις: for the form cf. Νεκτενῖβις in Theopomp. Fr. 101 (G–H); Νεκτανεβώ, -τεναβώ, -τανέβις, &c., are found elsewhere.

4. τοῦ ἱεροῦ: sc. the Ἀσκληπιεῖον at Memphis (cf. ll. 21, 26, and introd.) rather than at Heliopolis (l. 19), where no temple of Asclepius is known.

7. Neither Νεχαῦτις (or -αύτης) nor Νεχαῦς seems to be known, but Νεχαώθ occurs, and Νεχαώς and Νεχευώ as variants of Νεχαώ. διέποντι τότε τὴν ἀρχιδ[ι]κ[ασ]τε[ί]αν on the analogy of 727. 5 would imply that Nechautis or Nechaus was a deputy; but it is doubtful whether the word is used here in its technical sense, or as equivalent to διεξάγοντι in Ptolemaic documents, which does not imply that the person in question was a deputy; cf. P. Tebt. i, p. 84. The reference to an archidicastes in Pharaonic times is interesting. That official is known to have existed under the Ptolemies as well as under the Romans, and he may well have been the counterpart of a Pharaonic official. Mr. A. H. Gardiner compares the 'chief lector' Hardedef, who found writings in a temple (Erman, *Die Märchen d. Pap. Westcar*, i. 18; cf. p. 221). The superintendence of documents of various kinds was part of the duties of the archidicastes in Roman times; cf. e. g. 34.

9. μη⟨νί⟩: cf. l. 13 ἀντὶ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν. Of the second letter only the tip of a flourish similar to that of the final η of l. 11 is preserved.

24–5. These two lines are obscure and probably corrupt. ἀναγ[νώ]σεως (cf. l. 15) cannot be read. If ἀναν[εώ]σεως is right (ἀναν[εύ]σεως seems to be the only alternative), the 'book of renewal' would have to be explained as a title derived from ancient Egyptian; but this comes in very abruptly and]οιησας suggests nothing but π]οιήσας or a compound, and we are disposed to think τὴν βίβλον ἀνανεώσεως a mistake for τῆς βίβλου ἀνανέωσιν (cf. the wrong cases in ll. 129–30), and to suppose a blank space, as often in 1381, before π]οιήσας, though [ἐκπ]οιήσας is possible. The last letter of αὐτόν is reduced to a mere speck of ink, and αὐτός can equally be read, but not αὐτὸ τ[ό], though Ἀσκλήπιον might easily be a mistake for Ἀσκληπιεῖον: αὐτὸ ⟨τό⟩ is also unsatisfactory.

30. Μενχορέους: the ε above the line is apparently in the 1st hand and may represent an alternative spelling rather than a correction. -ηους is in late Ptolemaic times a common form of the genitive of names ending in -ης. In l. 223 the nominative is spelled Μενεχέρης, in Africanus *ap.* Syncellus Μενχέρης.

36. ῥεύων: this form of the present corresponding to the future ῥεύσω does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

45–9. Near the ends of ll. 48–67, and probably in ll. 45–7 also, a vertical strip of papyrus had scaled off the surface of the verso before it was written upon. Usually the scribe on reaching the single thickness, which had room for about two letters, left it blank, but in some cases he wrote across part or all of it, e. g. in ll. 48 and 56. This single layer has for the most part perished, but without affecting the reconstruction except in l. 57, where if a blank space was left τὸ must be omitted, and in ll. 45–8, where the ends of lines are missing and the size of the lacunae ranges from 5–7 letters according to the amount of notice taken of the presumably missing strip. The general sense of ll. 45–9 is that the writer was afraid of vexing the god by the inadequacy of his tribute to him, but the construction is not clear. The supposed λυ of ἐκώλυσε is rather cramped, but ἐκώλυε cannot be read, and for the aorist cf. l. 37 ἐπεσχέθην. For τ[ὰ κατιό]ντα it is possible to substitute .]αχανο[ῦς . ., but that is not a suitable epithet for Asclepius, and διὰ seems to be the plural of a neuter word meaning 'reproaches', perhaps a misspelling of ὀν(ε)ί[δη; cf. Hdt. vii. 160 ὀνείδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ. For ἀθα]νάτου cf. ll. 51 and 196, and for γρ]αφῆ[ς] ll. 159, 175, 187, and 195. [καί in l. 46 makes the order of the following words rather awkward, and in ll. 47–8 τ[ῆς γρ]αφῆ[ς] . . . συνπληρουμέν[ο]ι[ς . . .] (but not -μένη[ς . . .]) could be read, if a blank space was left (see above). For τ[οπεί]νωμα cf. l. 158 ταπεινοῦντι μοι τοῦτο. ταπείνωσις is coupled with σμικρολογία τῆς λέξεως by Plut. *Mor.* p. 7 a. τ[ῆς γρ]αφῆς συνπληρουμέν[ης] may be genitive absolute, and ἀρετῆς would then be dependent on the word ending in -νωμα, which would perhaps be an easier construction.

49. For the spelling *οφελησαντι* cf. l. 72, where *ωμενοι* apparently represents ⟨δε⟩*όμενοι*.

53. *αὐτ⟨ίκ⟩α μόνον*: cf. l. 193 *τὸν παραντ[ί]κα μ[ό]ν[ο]ν . . . κα[ιρ]όν*. The only alternative seems to be *αὐτῷ μόνον*, which yields a less satisfactory sense, and the traces suit *α* much better than *ω*.

59. *⟨γ⟩ήρ[ο]υς* is not a known form and the *ηρ* is not quite certain, for *λε* might be read for *η* and *ι* or *φ* for *ρ*; but the omission of *γ* between vowels is easily explained and *γήρως* suits the context; cf. l. 63 *νε[ότ]ης*. Possibly the omissions in this line (a connecting particle is wanted; cf. ll. 97–8 and 222, notes) go still further, e. g. *τὸν τοῦ ⟨γήρως καὶ . . . πλ⟩ήρ[ο]υς ἀνε[β]αλλό[μ]ην τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν*.

67–8. Nothing is wanted between *δ[έ* and *τῇ*, and there was probably a blank space or a deletion. *ἄ]θεος* is a curious epithet to apply to *φρίκη*, but *ὁ]θεός* spoils the construction by becoming the subject of *ἐστράβει* and so producing two nominatives. If *τεταρταια η φρεικη* is corrected to *τεταρταίῃ* (or *-ᾳ*) *φρείκῃ*, which was certainly not written, *τριετὴς . . . ἐπισκ[ήψας* agreeing with *ὁ] θεός* is very unsatisfactory, for both words ought to agree with *φρείκη*, so that further emendation becomes necessary, and the confusion of the construction would be far worse than in ll. 158–60. If *.]θεος* is not *ἄ]θεος*, *[ἀ⟨πὸ⟩] θεο⟨ῦ⟩* is the simplest change; but a reference to the god is not wanted in l. 68, especially as he is mentioned in l. 71. *ἐπισυ[* could be read in place of *ἐπισκ[*, but suggests no suitable verb, whereas *ἐπισκήπτειν* is often used of *νόσοι*.

72. *ωμενοι* apparently represents *δεόμενοι* rather than *εὐχόμενοι*: for *ο* in place of *ω* cf. l. 49 *οφελησαντι*. That *δέ* occurred in the lacuna at the end of the preceding line is unlikely, for *ι* is written rather large and may well be the last letter, and final *ε* generally has a long flourish, which should be visible.

74. *δι' ὀνειράτων*: cf. Aristides' diary in his *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*.

89–91. Cf. ll. 218–22.

97–8. *ἄσθματί τε καὶ βηκί*: *τε* is perhaps a mistake for *δέ*; cf. l. 59, note. *βηκί* for *βηχί* is probably not a mere misspelling, *βήκιον* and *βηκία* being attested.

99. For *σφαδαΐζειν* in place of the usual *σφαδάζειν* see Herodian, *Περὶ μον. λεξ.* 23. The passive of *καρηβαρεῖν* is very rare.

100. *{ἀ}λήθαργος*: *ἀληθάργητος* in the sense of 'active' is known (Hesych. *ἀλήστων· ἀληθαργήτων*), but *ἀλήθαργος*, in which the *α-* owing to the context cannot have a privative force, is unattested and seems to be an error for *λήθαργος*.

108. *ἑώρα* has no object, the writer altering the construction; cf. ll. 136 and 158–60.

111. *μέν* has no corresponding *δέ*, but is answered by *πλὴν ἦν κτλ.* in l. 117; cf. the preceding note.

136. *πρ[οε]λομένῃ*: the dative can be connected with *αὐτῇ* in l. 138, but the sentence is somewhat involved, and *πρ[οε]λομένη⟨ς⟩* would be an improvement, or possibly *πρ[οε]λομένη* was a nominative absolute; cf. ll. 108 and 158–60, notes. The traces of the first two letters are very slight, but exclude *βο[υ]λομένῃ*.

138. *ἀπήγγελον* is perhaps a new form of the aorist rather than a misspelling of *ἀπήγγελ⟨λ⟩ον*.

148. *[τ]οῦ*: or *[τ]ου* = *τινός*.

156–8. *διηπορ[ο]ῦ[με]ν* could be read for *διηπόρ[ο]υ[ν κα]ί*, but the correction of *εἰπεῖν* to *εἶπεν* seems necessary.

158–60. *ταπεινοῦντί μοι* is inconsistent with *ὑπῆει με*: cf. ll. 108 and 136, notes. *τοῦτο* can refer to *τῷ προκαθωμολ[ο]γημένῳ* or to *τὸ θεῖον τῆς γραφῆς χρέος*, which follows.

164. There is not room for *[ἐκ]πληρωθείς*, and probably the space after the corrected *καί* (cf. critical note) was blank.

168–74. For *κατα[πλ]ώσειν*, i. e. *καθα[πλ]ώσειν*, cf. l. 173 *ἀνήπλωσα*. It is not certain that more than one letter is lost, but *κατα[δ]ώσειν* yields no sense. *καθαπλοῦν* is much rarer than

ἀναπλοῦν, for which cf. Hermes Trismeg. *Poemand.* i. 16 οὔπω γάρ σοι ἀνήπλωσα τὸν πρῶτον λόγον. The force of κατα in καθαπλοῦν here seems to be 'widely' unfold (cf. ll. 198–202), as contrasted with the beginning of the process (ἀναπλοῦν). κατα[πλ]ώσειν would be correct as the Ionic form of καταπλεύσειν, but there is no parallel for the metaphorical use of this verb in the sense of 'come to an end', and the alteration of ἀνήπλωσα to ἀνέπλωσα in l. 173 would leave μῦθον to be governed by προφητεύων supplied from l. 169 or by some omitted participle, which is very unsatisfactory.

180. ἀλλαττόλογος is a new compound. For μῦθ]ον cf. l. 172.

181. For [δέσ]ποτα cf. l. 162 with σήν in the next line, as here. The *o* is very uncertain and]ντε or]ντα could be read.

187. τ[αύτ]ης: sc. γραφῆς. The invention of demotic writing is usually credited to Thoth and Isis (cf. p. 193), but cf. p. 224.

197. ἀνηβάσκ[ο]υσα τὴ[ν] μνήμην: ἀνηβάσκειν is a very rare equivalent of ἀνηβᾶν, and is censured by Thomas Magister. The accusative (of respect?) after it is curious, and possibly our author treated it as a transitive verb.

201. Φθᾶ: cf. Rosetta Inscr. 4. The Greek equivalent Ἡφ[αίστου is used in l. 229; cf. p. 222.

211. πονήσετε ζηλ[ωτα]ί: ποιήσετε (or possibly -σεσθε) or παρήσετε could be read, but not ζῆν. Since ζηλ[ωτα]ὶ ἀρετῆς is fairly certain (cf. Isocr. *Demon.* p. 4 b), an intransitive verb is required.

222. ⟨τε⟩ δωρήματα: for the omission of a connecting particle cf. ll. 59, 97, and 226–8, notes. δ is fairly certain, but the next two letters are very doubtful and the termination might be ημων.

223. [ὁ]: it is not certain that any letter is lost.

226–8. For διὰ τῆς] βίβλου cf. l. 29. The punctuation is uncertain. If τὴν φ[ήμην εὐτυ]χήσας (cf. l. 50) is right, that participle is to be connected with what precedes rather than with what follows, and is an explanation of αἰωνίαν εἴληφε δόξαν (cf. ll. 195–8), but there is an asyndeton in l. 228. With ὃς διὰ τῆς] there still seems to be no connecting particle between]χήσας and δωρησάμενος in l. 233, and l. 227 must be restored differently. The βίβλος is presumably the ancient Egyptian roll, as usual, but it appears here to be directly connected with Menkaura, not merely mentioned as evidence for his action ([ὃς ἐκ τῆς] βίβλου is unsatisfactory); possibly he wrote it nominally himself; cf. p. 223.

228–32. Cf. pp. 223–4. In l. 229 Ἡφ[αίστου the vestiges suit η very well and are consistent with φ. In l. 230 τ[. . .]ρου (or]ιου or]του) might be read, but the article, though omitted in l. 231, is confirmed by l. 228, and τ[οῦ Ὠ]ρου is much the most probable restoration. The ρ is written through what seems to be a blot of ink due to a correction, but there is no reason to think that the ρ was deleted.

234. ἀντάποιναν: the form seems to be unattested, but ἀντίποινα (neut. plur.) in the MSS. of the tragic poets is often misspelled ἀντάποινα.

247. περὶ | [τῆς ταφῆς (cf. l. 229) is probable.

1382. Tale of Sarapis and Syrion.

15 × 25·3 cm. Second century.

The recto of this papyrus contains portions of an official account of taxation on land, written in the second century and mentioning the 18th year of an emperor (Hadrian or Antoninus?), and will be published in Part XII. On the

verso, in a large uncultivated cursive hand of the same century, is the conclusion and title of a story concerning the *ἀρετή* of Zeus-Helios-Sarapis (cf. **1149**. 1, note) in connexion with a pilot called Syrion. The papyrus had been reduced to about half its height before the verso was used, but was doubtless a long roll originally, and many columns may have been lost before Col. i, of which only the ends of lines survive. The tale ends with Syrion's disposal of some water, which probably had healing or otherwise miraculous qualities, to the inhabitants of Pharos. The story, which seems to have been based upon a manuscript preserved at Alexandria (l. 19, note), appears to have been Greek rather than Egyptian in origin, and is perhaps to be classed with the compositions of persons who had been cured of diseases at the Serapeum of Canopus, mentioned by Strabo (cf. p. 225). On Hellenistic 'aretology' in general see Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, 10 sqq., and cf. **1381**.

Col. ii.

]ν̣α̣π̣η
]ε̣ . ι̣ σὺ ὁ̣
]ν̣α̣ ε
]τ̣ο γυ-
]ν̣ βίον
]ν̣ο̣ς
]α̣φ̣ον
μ]ε̣ν̣ος
] . . ε
]ω
]νη
]ε̣ν̣
]ν
] . ι̣ .

εἶπεν· διὰ σὲ χαρίσομαι τὸ ὕδωρ Φαρίταις.
καὶ ἀσπάσαμενος αὐτὸν ἀνέπλευσεν,
καὶ ἀ⟨πο⟩δίδωσι τὸ ὕδωρ Φαρίταις καὶ λαμβάνι
παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τιμὴν ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ρ. καὶ
καταχωρίζεται ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐν ταῖς Μερκουρίου
βιβλιοθήκαις. οἱ παρόντες εἴπατε εἷς Ζεὺς
Σάραπις. [[. . . . .]]

Διὸς Ἡλίου μεγάλου Σαρά-
πιδος ἀρετὴ ἡ περὶ Συ-
ρίωνα τὸν κυβερνή-
την.

1. *π* above *τ* deleted. 16. *και* corr. from *δια*. 17. *ὕδωρ* Pap. 22. *νσαρα* written over some expunged letters. 24. *ν* of *κυβερνητην* corr. from *ε*.

'. . . he said "For your sake I will bestow the water upon the people of Pharos." And having saluted him he sailed forth, and gave the water to the people of Pharos, receiving from them as its value 100 drachmae of silver. This act of grace is registered in the libraries of Mercurium. Let all present say "There is one Zeus Sarapis." (Title) The act of grace of Zeus-Helios, great Sarapis, regarding Syrion the pilot.'

17. ἀ⟨πο⟩δίδωσι or {α} δίδωσι can be read.

19. ταῖς Μερκουρίου βιβλιοθήκαις: cf. **886**. 2–5 ἀντίγραφον ἱερᾶς βίβλου τῆς εὑρετίσης ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ταμίοις, which is the heading of a magical formula for obtaining an omen, and another heading of a magical formula in *Catal. codd. Astr. Graec.* vii, p. 62 βίβλος εὑρεθεῖσα ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν ἀδύτοις ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ἱεροῖς γράμμασι. Μερκουρίου may be merely equivalent to Ἑρμοῦ, but since the story is concerned with Pharos the Mercury quarter of Alexandria (Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, 364–5) is likely to be meant. Whether it was called Μερκούριος or Μερκούριον is doubtful, the nominative not being found, but the neuter form is the more probable.

20. εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις is a common formula on gems; cf. **1380**. 6, note.

1383. Sailor's Song.

5·4 × 12 cm. Late third century.

This interesting little poem, a prayer to the Rhodian winds for a calm voyage, apparently complete, is closely parallel to **425**, a brief invitation to sailors to compare the sea and the Nile, written in the second or third century in the metre ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ∪∪∪–, and to P. Amh. 2, an early fourth-century acrostic Christian hymn in practically the same metre; cf. Wilamowitz, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1904. 670, P. Maas, *Philol.* 1909. 445–6, Powell, *Class. Quarterly*, v. 177. The 10 στίχοι are sometimes marked off by strokes, like the double dots indicating the στίχοι in the alphabetically arranged P. Amh. 2, but as in **425** the writing is continuous. The script is third-century cursive, probably dating from about 250–280; it is thus somewhat later than **425**, as is also indicated by the greater irregularity of the metre. In **425** the metrical value of syllables still depends on quantity, not accent, except in one instance where Νείλου is scanned as a trochee, whereas in **1383**, as in P. Amh. 2, accent is often more important than quantity, e.g. v. 4 ὅτε μένειν, v. 7 ἀλ' ὑποτάξατε ναῦσιβάταις. Dactyls occur in place of anapaests or spondees in the first part of the verse more often than in P. Amh. 2, and the rule observed carefully in **425**, and almost without exception in P. Amh. 2, that a verse should end with a paroxytone iambus, which results in the form ὑδάτη being employed in **425** for ὕδατα, is violated in e.g. v. 3 ἐγώ, v. 8 ἐπίγεται. Verses 6 and 10 are highly irregular and probably corrupt.

In the right-hand margin is the title; on the left hand are the ends of two lines which are likely to have belonged to another poem of the same character, though not certainly in the same hand. There is a margin above and below Col. ii which seems to be, like **425**, complete, though a word is wanted at the end, and the poem may possibly have been continued in another column; cf. l. 10, note.

Col. i. Col. ii.

] . 'Ροδίοις ἐκέλευον ἀνέμοις / [2] καὶ μέρεσι σοῖς πελαγίοις,
] [3] ὅτε πλέειν ἤθελον ἐγώ. / [4] ὅτε μένειν ἤθελον
] ἐκεῖ, [5] ἔλεγον μέρε(σιν) πελαγίο[ι]ς [6] μὴ ⟨⏑⏑–⟩ τυπῇ τὰ
] πελάγη. / [7] ἄλ'
5]ον[[ạ ṛ]] ὑποτάξατε ναυσιβά[τ]αις. [8] ὅλος ἄρ' ἄνεμος ἐπίγεται. [9] ἀπέ-
10 κλειε τὰ πνεύματα καί, ν[ύ]ξ, [10] δὸς τὰ [ὕδ]ατα ἐΰβατα.
In the right-hand margin at right angles
'Ροδίοις ἀνέ[μοις.]

6. l. τοῖς for σοις. 9. ὔποταξατε Pap. s of ναυσιβα[τ]αις above the line. ν of ανεμος corr. (?). l. ἀπόκλειε.

'I commanded the Rhodian winds and the seaward parts when I wished to sail; when I wished to remain there, I said to the seaward parts that the sea should not be smitten. Make the ocean obedient to seafarers! Suddenly a whole tempest arises. Shut off the winds, and, night, grant that the waters be smooth. (Title) To the Rhodian winds.'

6. μέρεσι, unless corrected to μέρεσι⟨ν⟩, is scanned as a dactyl; cf. introd. In v. 5 the word is abbreviated, and the same difficulty arises, but though two dactyls occur in place of two anapaests in vv. 7, 8, ἔλεγον in v. 5 is in favour of μέρε(σιν) there.

σοῖς: the top of the first letter is lost, but the bottom of the surviving stroke turns to the right, whereas the bottom of a τ should be straight or turn to the left. The second person singular is found in l. 10, where νύξ is addressed, but is out of place with μέρεσι πελαγίοις, which recurs in l. 8 without σοῖς, and τοῖς was no doubt meant.

7. ὅτε πλέειν: the form πλέειν is often found in MSS., but is usually corrected to πλεῖν. Here it corresponds metrically to μένειν in the next verse, the first syllable being apparently lengthened in both words owing to the accent, unless the first syllable of ὅτε is lengthened; cf. introd. To read πλε⟨ί⟩ειν is unnecessary.

8. ἐκεῖ seems to mean Rhodes. For μέρε(σιν) cf. l. 6, note. An adjective making a tribrach or trochee seems to have been omitted after μή; cf. l. 10, note. For τυπῇ cf. Hom. δ 580 ἄλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς. Possibly, however, μὴ ⟨⏑⏑⟩ τύπτ[ε⟨τε⟩] or μὴ τύπτ[ε⟨τε –⟩] should be restored before τὰ πελάγη.

9. ναυσιβάτης for ναυβάτης occurs in Manetho i. 123. For the shortened first syllable cf. the next note and introd.

10. καί is treated as short; cf. introd. Verse 10 will not scan unless δός θ' [ὕδ]ατ' ἐΰβατα ⟨⏑–⟩ be read. There is not room for [κυμ]ατα, and after ευβατα any further letters would run into the μ of ανε[μοις] belonging to the title, of which the termination may have been obliterated, although the papyrus is preserved. Perhaps, however, ἀνέ⟨μοις⟩ should be read there; the traces of the ε are very slight and the letter may be raised above the line. This would leave room for 3 or 4 letters between ευβατα and the edge of the papyrus. The missing syllables may have come in the next column, if Col. ii was one of a series; cf. introd. But δός, the manner of writing the title, and the general appearance of the papyrus all suggest the conclusion of the poem, and an omission is likely enough; cf. l. 8, note.

1384. Medical Recipes, Theological Extracts.

30·2 × 15·4 cm. Fifth century.

The beginning and end of this remarkable papyrus consist of medical recipes, the first for a purge, the others for curing strangury and wounds, while the middle portion is taken up with two theological extracts, which have evidently been inserted on account of their medical interest, perhaps as a kind of charm. The rather large, irregular semiuncial hand and numerous mistakes of spelling indicate an uncultivated writer of, probably, the fifth rather than the sixth century. A few corrections are all by the scribe himself, who employed the brown ink common at this period. The lower part of the papyrus is practically complete, but in the upper part nearly all the right-hand half is missing, entailing the loss of only some of the figures in the first recipe, but the ends of all the lines except one in the first extract, of which the reconstruction presents difficulties, although the general sense is clear.

Lines 15–22 are apparently derived from an uncanonical gospel. Jesus meets some persons, who ask Him how the sick can be relieved. The answer is that He has provided olive-oil and myrrh for those who believe in the name (or power) 'of the Father, the Holy Spirit, and the Son', a notable inversion of the usual order of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity. The scene is laid *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*, and possibly the background was suggested by Matt. viii. 2–4, Mark i. 40–5, Luke v. 12–16, where the healing of a leper is stated by Mark and Luke to have led directly to the departure of Jesus *ἐπ' ἐρήμοις τόποις* or *ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις*; or if the persons who met Jesus were lepers (cf. ll. 15 and 17, notes) there might be a connexion with Luke xvii. 11–14; or, as Dr. J. V. Bartlet proposes (cf. l. 15, note), the background may have been provided by Matt. xiv. 13–14, which has *ἐρήμων τόπων* and *ἐθεράπευσε* (cf. *θαραπία* in l. 17). If *ἡμ[ῖν* in l. 15 is rightly restored, the gospel to which the extract belongs must have been professedly written by one of the disciples. The first person singular or plural occurred in the narrative of (1) the Gospel of Peter, (2) the Gospel of the Ebionites, which is probably identical with that of the Twelve Apostles (Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Liter.* i. 625 sqq.), (3) the Gospel of Philip, (4) **1224**, if *με* in Fr. 2 recto. ii. 1 belongs to the narrative, and possibly also in (5) the Gospel of Thomas, (6) the Traditions of Matthias, and (7) the Fayûm Gospel-fragment, of which three the extant remains are too slight to show the character of the narrative; but in **655**, **840**, and **1081** the disciples are referred to in the third person, as presumably in the Gospels according to the Hebrews and Egyptians.

The second extract (ll. 23–9) is quite different from the first, being concerned with the 'angels of the Lord' who are represented as having gone up to heaven

to seek a remedy for their eyes from Jehovah Sabaoth, to whose power they appeal. The story seems to be incomplete, and this suggests that the first extract too perhaps broke off prematurely, though it ends at a more intelligible point than the second. The link connecting the excerpts with the medical prescriptions is probably not so much the mention of the olive-oil and myrrh as relieving sickness, and the sponge as relieving the eyes, but in the implied virtue of an appeal by name in the one case to the Trinity, in the other to Jehovah Sabaoth, who is often invoked in Gnostic prayers, e.g. **1060**. The second extract is clearly not taken from any gospel like that of Peter and (apparently) that of the Twelve Apostles, which covered the same ground as the Synoptists, but the Gospel of Philip, of which the only extant fragment begins *ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι ὁ κύριος τί τὴν ψυχὴν δεῖ λέγειν ἐν τῷ ἀνιέναι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν* (cf. ll. 23–4) *καὶ πῶς ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων ἀποκρίνεσθαι*, was a document of a different class, and seems a possible source for both excerpts. It is, however, safer to regard them as independent of each other, and in that case the second extract may well be from a Jewish, rather than Christian, work of an apocalyptic character similar to e.g. the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (cf. **403**) or the *Ascension of Isaiah* (P. Amh. 1).

The first excerpt, considered by itself, can hardly be assigned with any confidence to a particular gospel, especially as it is uncertain what term was used in the narrative in speaking of Jesus (cf. l. 16, note). The unorthodox order of the Persons of the Trinity seems to point in the direction of that early conception which found expression in a curious fragment of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, *ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ*, and since that gospel is not itself a suitable source for ll. 15–22, there is something to be said in favour of assigning the passage to the Jewish-Christian Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, which Epiphanius and Jerome for obscure reasons wrongly identified with the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The Ebionite Gospel was probably a century later than the other, and unlike it was a secondary document of a pronounced Gnostic character, while the Gospel of Peter, which is partly based on the canonical Gospels but was used by Justin along with them, occupies a middle position, Harnack assigning its composition to A.D. 110–30. The Akhmîm fragment shows that the Gospel of Peter, to which **1224** possibly belongs, was still being studied in Upper Egypt in the fifth century, but the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, as a Jewish-Christian work, is perhaps more likely to have been associated with the source of the second extract.

Φούσκας καθαρσίου·
℔ *κυμίνου* (*δραχμαὶ*) *δ*,

μαράθου (δρ.) β,
σελίνου (δρ.) δ,
κόστου (δρ.) δ,
μαστίχης (δρ.) δ,
κωρίου (δρ.) ζ,
δαφνόκοκκα κα,
καροίου (δρ.) [.
πέρνης (δρ.) [.
γλήχωνος (δρ.) [.
φοίλλου (δρ.) [.
ἅλατος [
ὄξους [.

℞ ἀπήντησαν ἡμ[ῖν . . . . . ἄνδ]ρες
ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κα[ὶ εἶπαν τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ,
Ἰεσοῦ, τί⟨ς⟩ ἔνη θαραπία ἀρρώ[στοις;
καὶ λέγι αὐτοῖς, ἔλεον ἀπέδ[ωκα ἐ-
λήας καὶ σβύρν[α]ν ἐξέχ[υσα τοῖς
πεποιθόσι τ[ῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ
πατρὸς καὶ ἁγ[ί]ου [πν(εύματο)ς καὶ τοῦ
υἱοῦ. ⟫

℞ ἄγγελοι κ(υρίο)υ ἀνῆρθαν πρὸς μ[έσον]
τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀφθαλμοὺς
πονο⟨ῦ⟩ντες καὶ σφόγγον κρα-
τοῦντες. λέγι αὐτοῖς ὁ κ(υρίο)υ, τί ἀνήρ-
θατε, ἄγνοὶ πανκάθαροι; ἔασιν λαβῖν
ἀνήλθαμεν, Ἰαὼ Σαβαώθ, ὅτι σοὶ
δοινατὸς καὶ οἰσχιρός.

εἰς στραγγουριτία, ἰᾶσε τὸν πο-
νο⟨ῦ⟩ντα·

℞ λαβὸν σπέρμα ἀγίνου ξερὸν [
τρίψας μετὰ {υ}οἴνου Ἀσκαλῶ[-
νίτου εἶτα θερμὰ πίν{ν}ε.

℞ εἰς θαραπίαν οὐλον·
λαβὸν μῆλα κυπαρίσ⟨σ⟩ου
ζέσας κλοίζου.

3. μ of μαραθον corr. 7. l. κορίου. 9. l. καρύου. 12. First λ of φοιλλου above the line; l. φύλλου. 17. ἴεσου Π; l. Ἰησοῦ . . . ἔνι θεραπεία. 18. l. ἔλαιον . . . ἐ]λαίας. 19. l. σμύρν[α]ν. 22. ὕϊου Π. 23. l. ἀνῆλθαν. 25. σφογ'γον Π. l. σπόγγον. 26. τοις of αυτοις above the line. l. κ(ύριο)ς . . . ἀνήλθατε. 27. ν of αγνοι corr. from οι, and ο from υ? ἴασιν Π. 28. Second α of ανηλθαμεν corr. from ω. ἴαω Π. 28–9. l. σὺ δυνατὸς καὶ ἰσχυρός. οι of οισχιρος above the line. 30. l. στραγγουρητίαν. ἴασε Π; l. ἰᾶσαι. 31. l. λαβὼν σπ. ἀκίνου. 32. ὑοινου Π. 34. l. θεραπείαν οὐλῶν. 35. l. λαβών. 36. λ of κλοιζου above the line; l. κλύζου.

'Ingredients of a purging draught: cummin 4 drachmae, fennel 2 dr., parsley 4 dr., costus 4 dr., mastich 4 dr., coriander 7 dr., 21 laurel-berries, nut . dr., ham (?) . dr., penny-royal . dr., silphium (?) . dr., salt . ., vinegar . .

. . . men met us in the desert and said to the Lord "Jesus, what cure is possible for the sick?" And He saith to them "I gave olive-oil and poured forth myrrh to them that believe in the name of the Father, the Holy Spirit, and the Son."

The angels of the Lord went up to mid-heaven, suffering in their eyes and holding a sponge. The Lord saith to them "Why came ye up, ye holy and all-pure?" (They say) "We came up to receive a remedy, Jehovah Sabaoth, for thou art mighty and strong."

For strangury, to heal the sufferer. Take the dry seed of basil-thyme, crumble it with wine of Ascalon, then drink it hot.

For treating wounds. Take the fruit of a cypress, boil it and apply.'

10. Whether in this context *πέρνα* has its ordinary meaning of 'ham' is doubtful; a herb would be expected.

12. *φύλλον* in medical writers is used sometimes with special reference to *μαλάβαθρον* (betel-nut), which was exported from India, and *σίλφιον*, which was exported from Cyrene. The latter is more likely to be meant.

15. The position assigned to the isolated fragment]*ρες* is not certain, but no other place seems at all suitable. *θε*, *θω*, *εω*, or *ου*, but not *ος*, may be read for *ες*, only the tops of the letters being preserved; but no combination with ll. 17–19 or 23 results, and in ll. 16 and 20–1 the restorations, which are fairly certain, are inconsistent with this fragment. Bartlet prefers *ἡμ*[*ῖν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*, comparing **1224**. Fr. 2 verso. ii. 1, but *ἄνδ*]*ρες* at this point seems satisfactory. The preceding word may well have been a number (e. g. *τρεῖς*), but since the exact length of the lacuna is uncertain there are several possibilities. *ἡμ*[*ῖν λεπροὶ ἄνδ*]*ρες* might also be read on the analogy of Luke xvii. 11 *δέκα λεπροὶ ἄνδρες* (cf. the other story of the healing of a leper mentioned in the introd.), but, as Bartlet observes, the context suggests that the questioners were persons who wanted to know how Jesus did his cures, rather than subjects of such cures.

16. *αὐτῷ* or *τῷ σ*(*ωτῆ*)*ρι* (cf. **840**) may be restored instead of *τῷ κ*(*υρί*)*ῳ*, which is the term used in the Gospels of Peter and Philip, or *Ἰεσοῦ* might be dative instead of vocative; cf. **1224**.

17. For the spelling *θαραπία* cf. l. 34 and the Arsinoïte *ἄμφοδον Θαραπείας* (e. g. P. Tebt. 329. 3). After this come very faint traces of the bottoms of four letters, of which the first seems to have begun rather high up and may well be *α*, while the third has a vertical stroke suggesting *γ*, *ι*, *ρ*, or *τ*. For *ἀρρώ*[*στοις* (Bartlet) cf. Mark vi. 13 *ἤλειφον ἐλαίῳ πολλοὺς ἀῤῥώστους*, but if the second and third letters were *ρρ* there was a blank space between them. *ἡμῖν* [. . . . is less satisfactory, but the sentence may have ended at *θαραπία* and the next word be a verb. *ἅπτε*[*ται* (cf. e. g. Matt. viii. 3 *ἥψατο αὐτοῦ*) might be read, but hardly *ἥψα*[*το*, and there would be room after it for *δέ*, but not *αὐτῶν*. This reading would require *λεπροὶ ἄνδ*]*ρες* in l. 15; cf. note *ad loc.*

18–19. The fourth letter of *απεδ*[, if not *δ*, can only be *λ*, but *δ* is more suitable. Neither *ἀπέδ*[*ωκα* nor *ἀπέδ*[(*ε*)*ιξα* makes a very good contrast with *ἐξέχ*[*υσα*, of which only the tops of the letters survive, and one verb would be sufficient; but though *οζ* can quite well be read for *εξ* (*ο* is really preferable to *ε*), and *υ* is possible in place of *χ* (or *κ*), *ὄζου*[*σαν* is inadmissible, not only on account of the third letter, which, if not *ε*, must be *ι*, but because after the fourth the top of a high letter like *σ* ought to have been visible. *ἐξεῦ*[*ρον* and *ἐξέχ*[*εα* are open to the same objection.

20–2. For *τ*[*ῷ ὀνόματι* cf. Matt. xxviii. 19 *βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, and introd. *τ*[*ῇ δυνάμει* (Bartlet) can be substituted.

23–4. *μ*[*έσον* | *τὸν οὐρανόν*: the first letter, if not *μ*, can only be *λ*, *ν*, or *π*. After a lacuna of two letters comes what may be the bottom of a vertical stroke, or merely a stain or accidental spot. *π*[*έμ*]*π*|*τον* is possible, but not *τ*[*ὸν*] *τ*[*ρί*|*τον*.

25. *σφόγγον* might be for *σπόγγων* (cf. l. 31 *λαβον*) and the plural would be an advantage, but *κρατεῖν* in the sense of 'holding in the hand', which occurs in Plutarch, Athenaeus, and other late writers, but not in the N. T., would be expected to govern the accusative.

27. *λέγουσιν* seems to have dropped out between *ἀγνοὶ πανκάθαροι* and *ἴασιν λαβῖν*, or else *οἱ δὲ εἶπαν* is omitted.

30. *στραγγουριτία* (i. e. *-ρητία*) is an unknown equivalent of *στραγγουρία*, and of doubtful validity.

31. *ξερόν* is an Ionic form, but more probably a misspelling of *ξηρόν*; cf. l. 17 *Ἰεσοῦ*.

V. HOMER FRAGMENTS

(The collations are with the text of Ludwich.)

1385. Fr. 2 7·3 × 5·7 cm. Two fragments, found with **1369–74**, &c., of a leaf from a papyrus codex, containing on the recto the beginnings of B 444–6 and 456–67 (the writing on the verso being obliterated), with occasional breathings and accents. 460 *η χηνω̣[ν*. Fifth century; in a sloping uncial hand; brown ink.

1386. 19·9 × 7·8 cm. Found with **1365** and **1392**. On the recto parts of 2 lines in cursive. On the verso the upper part of a column containing portions of Δ 257–71, with some accents and marks of elision and quantity. A low stop occurs in l. 262. 260 *κρητηρσι κερω̂ν[ται* 262 *πινωσι. σον.* Third century; in an upright informal hand.

1387. 9·9 × 4·2 cm. Middle parts of E 206–24 with occasional high stops and accents (208 *βαλώ̣ν·*). Second century; in well-formed round upright uncials of medium size.

1388. Fr. 1 7·6 × 8·6 cm. Four fragments, the first containing parts of Z 133–7 from the end of a column, and the others parts of Z 138–50 and 156–60 from the next column, of which l. 160 was the last line. Stops occur in the form of an acute accent high above the line, probably by a second hand. The papyrus has *οι* not *μιν* in l. 159. First century B. C. (found with a contract dated in the 19th year of Ptolemy Auletes, to be published in Part XII); in good-sized uncials of similar type to those of **659** and **686**.

1389. 6 × 17·7 cm. Fragment of a double leaf from a vellum codex containing on p. 1 beginnings of H 182–94, on p. 2 ends of 218–30, on p. 3 a few letters from the beginnings of 250–5, and on p. 4 a few letters from the ends of 285–9, with frequent accents, breathings, and marks of elision; stops in the middle position occur twice. Late fourth century; in a sloping uncial hand similar to that of the Freer Gospels; brown ink.

1390. 6·2 × 5 cm. Fragment of leaf from a papyrus codex containing on the verso parts of I 287–96 and on the recto parts of 325–31, with frequent accents. 328 *δῆ*. Fifth century; in slightly sloping rather heavy uncials; brown ink.

1391. Fr. 1 3·9 × 3·7 cm. Four fragments (one very small one unidentified), found with **1369–74**, &c., from the middle of two leaves of a papyrus codex of Λ, written in brown ink in a large heavy sloping uncial of the fifth century.

The text, which varies considerably from the vulgate and seems to be remarkably corrupt, is:

Fr. 1.

Recto.	Verso.
526? [.]σι[	566] θο[υριδος αλκης
527 [ε]υρυ γα[ρ αμφ ωμοισιν	567 ερητυ]σασκ[ε φαλαγγας
528 [κε]ισ̣ υμ̣ . [	568] τρωπα[σκετο φευγειν
	569 ε]πι νηα[ς οδευειν

Frs. 2 and 3.

Recto.

597 [Νεστορα δ εκ πολεμ]οιο φερ[ον Νηληιαι ιπποι
598 [ιδρωσαι ηγον δε Μ]αχαενα π̣[οιμενα λαων
599 [τον δε ιδω]ν εν[οησε] ποδαρκης [διος Αχιλλευς
600 [εστηκει γα]ρ επι π[ρυ]μ[ν]η μεγ[ακητει νηι
601 [εισοροων π]ονον αιπ[υν] ι̣ω̣[κα τε δακρυοεσσαν
602 [αιψα δ εταιρ]ον εο[ν Πατροκλη]α προσεειπε

Verso.

634 [τεσσαρ εσαν δοιαι δε πελειαδε]ς λ εκ̣[αστον
635 [χρυσειαι νεμεθοντο ⟨δυω⟩ δ υπο πυθμε]νεσ̣ ησαν [
636 [αλλος μεν μογεων αποκιν]ησασκε τ̣[ραπ]ε̣ζ̣[ης
637? [πλειον εον Νεστωρ δ ο γερων α]ι̣ε̣ογ̣η̣τι̣ς̣ α̣[.] . φαν̣ [
[25 letters] . η̣τ̣[. . .]ε̣σκετο . [
640? [31 letters]σο λευκ̣[α?
641? [πινεμεναι δ εκελευσεν επει ρ ωπλισσε] κ̣υ̣κ̣[ειω

526. Αἴας δὲ MSS. 528. κεῖσ' ἵπτους MSS. For the doubled σ cf. l. 635, but the second is very doubtful, being more like γ. 598. l. Μ]αχαονα. 634. ἀμφὶς (or -φὶ) ἕκαστον MSS. 635. An omission of about 3 letters apparently occurred in the earlier part of this line. 637. ἀμόγητι ἄειρεν MSS. 638–40. The MSS. have ἐν τῷ ῥά σφι κύκησε γυνὴ εἰκυῖα θεῇσιν οἴνῳ Πραμνείῳ, ἐπὶ δ' αἶγειον κνῆ τυρὸν κνήστι χαλκείῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλυνε. Mr. T. W. Allen suggests that after ll. 636 or 637 some new lines were added referring to Hecamede and proposes με]σολευ[κον εχουσα or -[κα φορουσα with either χιτωνα or ειματα. π[αρεκ]εσκετο (cf. ξ 521) does not seem possible in the previous line. The vestiges of the supposed l. 641 are very uncertain, but ll. 637 and 640 may have been meant, though very corrupt.

1392. 14·2 × 9·1 cm. Found with **1365** and **1386**. On the recto first halves of O 303–25. 307 βιβων. 308 ωμοισιν. 311 τη. 324 κλονεουσι[[ν]]. Third

century; in upright calligraphic uncials of biblical type, resembling **25**, **661**, **867**, P. Rylands 16. On the verso, which is partly covered by strips gummed on in order to strengthen the roll, is some third-century cursive writing.

1393. 7 × 9·8 cm. Fragment of a vellum leaf containing on one side beginnings of Π 157–70, on the other ends of 191–203, with frequent accents and marks of elision. Oxytone words received a grave accent on the final syllable, e.g. 165 *αγαθὸν*. 166 *δ* inserted above the line by a second hand. Fifth century; in upright rather heavy uncials resembling those of **848**. The leaf was ruled on the verso (?) with a fine point; brown ink.

1394. Fr. 1 4·3 × 1·6 cm. Six fragments (two unidentified), found with **1369–74**, &c., from a papyrus book, containing on the recto parts of *α* 266–76 and on the verso parts of 296–307, with frequent accents, &c., added in darker ink. Oxytone words have a grave accent, as in **1393**. Stops in the middle position in ll. 269 and 296 are apparently original. 271 *νῦν* with *δη* interlineated in darker ink. Fifth century; in a medium-sized sloping hand somewhat resembling that of **1372**; brown ink.

1395. 6·5 × 8·9 cm. Fragment of a vellum leaf containing on one side the first halves of *ζ* 264–75 and on the other 294–305, with frequent accents and marks of elision added in lighter ink. Stops in the high position occur. 269 *σπειρας*, the final *ς* rewritten and repeated in lighter ink above the line. 273 *φ* of *φημιν* corrected; a paragraphus was inserted by a later hand below this line. 274 *ι* adscript of *μωμενηι·* added together with a high stop by a later hand. *εισὶν*. 297 *ελθ]ης* corrected to *ελθ]ηι* by a later hand. 303 *κενθωσι*. Fourth century; in a fine upright script rather similar to that of the Codex Sinaiticus.

1396. Fr. 1 2·7 × 3·7 cm. Two fragments, found with **1369–74**, &c., from a papyrus book, containing on the verso parts of *ι* 358–61, 364 and on the recto parts of 405–8, 410–12, with accents, &c., and three small unidentified scraps apparently from the same MS. 406 *ηε* apparently corr. 411 *νο]ῦσον τ'*. Fifth century; in a sloping hand rather smaller and more compressed than that of **1394**; brown ink.

1397. 3 × 2·8 cm. Fragment found with **1369–74**, &c., containing on the verso marginal scholia on *σ* 67 and 70 in a small cursive hand. The text is [*περιε*]*ζωσα*[*το* [2] *τα μηδεα τ*[*οις* [3] *ρακεσιν*, and after a space *ηυξησεν*, an explanation of *ἤλδανε*. On the recto traces of a few obliterated letters, probably also a scholium. Fifth century.

1398. 10 × 7·3 cm. Beginnings of *φ* 356–67, from the bottom of a column, with frequent accents, breathings, &c., added by a later hand, which has also corrected the text and inserted paragraphi and critical signs. Below 361

paragraphus. 362 diplê in margin. δὴ. 363 λ of πλαγκτέ and χ of ταχ added above the line by the corrector. 364 ἀπ'. 365 ημῖν ϊλήκ[ησι, the λ added above the line by the corrector; paragraphus below. Third century; in calligraphic upright uncials of biblical type, resembling **1392**, **661**, &c.

VI. MINOR CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

1399. 7·1 × 7·3 cm. Plate II (verso). On the recto parts of 8 lines of, probably, a petition to an official who is addressed as *κύριε*; a *ὑπομνηματισμός* of a *βασιλικὸς* (*γραμματεύς*) is mentioned. Late second or third century. On the verso the title

$$\bar{\chi}\text{οιριλου ποιηματ}\bar{\alpha}$$
$$\kappa$$
$$\bar{\beta}\text{αρβαρικα· μηδι· περσ[ικ}\bar{\alpha}$$

is written in upright uncials which may belong to the middle or latter part of the third century. The papyrus is hardly the right shape for a *σίλλυβος* (cf. e.g. **301**, **1091**), and is more likely to have come from the end of a roll. With regard to l. 2, it is improbable that the three adjectives *βαρβαρικὰ Μηδικ(ὰ) Περσικά* refer to three distinct poems; they rather designate in common the famous epos of Choerilus which is called by Suidas *ἡ Ἀθηναίων νίκη κατὰ Ξέρξου*, by Stobaeus *Περσηίς* (*Flor.* xxvii. 1), and by Herodian *Περσικά* (*Π. μον. λεξ.* p. 13, ii. 919 Lentz). This was divided into more than one book (Herodian, *l. c.*), and may well have been of a rather wider compass than Suidas' title would suggest, though there are no indications of this in the few surviving fragments (Kinkel, *Ep. Gr. Fr.* pp. 265 sqq.). Suidas credits Choerilus with another work called *Λαμιακά* and *ἄλλα τινὰ ποιήματα*, of which nothing is known; Naeke in his monograph on Choerilus suggested (p. 101) that *Λαμιακά* should be emended to *Σαμιακά* or else assigned to Choerilus of Iasus.

1400. 6 × 5·3 cm. On the recto part of a second-century taxing-list, which will be described in Part XII. On the verso ends of 10 and beginnings of 8 lines from the tops of two columns of a comedy, written in a small uncial hand of the second or early third century. The text is:

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]αδε·	απο[
]ạλην γαμει·	αυṭη[
]ṭιδω·	μηṭṛ[

] θεωι·
]ν δ αυτω χρονοι·
]σεται
]τος ει
]ρεμω :
] κατω
]ην [ ]
. . . . . .

ὴ γω δ[
αντα[
απ[
η · [
εω[
. . .

1401. Fr. 1 8·5 × 6·6 cm. Four fragments, found with **1369–74**, &c., from a papyrus codex of a tragedy, written in a hand similar to that of **1370** but not identical, though possibly from the same MS. of Euripides. Fifth century; brown ink. Frs. 1 and 2 are from the tops of columns. The text is:

Fr. 1 recto.

]ας
]γνώμην ανα . . .
]ενπα . . . [.] . .
] . . [. . .] .
]θισεις
] . ανω . . .

Fr. 2 recto.

χορ(os) ρ[
verso.
] . θρων σοφόν
]ς
] . α . . .
Traces of 2 more lines and 2 of a scholium.

Fr. 3 verso.

. . [
αφ[
τασ[
θηλ . [
σοῖ ξ . [
ιτι . [

Fr. 4 recto.

] . . [
]ότιν[
verso.
] . απ[
]α . . [

1402. Fr. 1 3·6 × 4·2 cm. Three fragments, found with **1369–74**, &c., of a codex of Aristophanes (?) with semi-uncial scholia. The main text is in a different hand from those of **1371–4**, and it is not quite certain that Fr. 3 belongs to this MS. Fifth century; brown ink. The text is:

Fr. 1 recto.

μ]αχουν
]νῳι·
] . ισθε
]ους εκ
] . ναον
]υσεο( )

. [
ατ[
κακ[
. [

Fr. 1 verso.

] . οτε β[ο]υλοντα[ι
τους αλ]εκτρυονας π[ρος αλληλους
μαχε]σθ(αι) σκοροδα τ[ιθεασιν εν
τοις μ]υκτηρσιν [
] . εις πιν[
]υν κεα[
]παρω[

Fr. 2 recto.

]ο̣ . ( ) τ̣α δρεπανα̣ ε̣[
]ταζομενος·

verso.

] . . . λ̣ε̣γ̣ει
] κυνα

Fr. 3 recto.

] . ρ̣[
]πετ . [

Fr. 3 verso.

[.] . [
π̣ . [
οι . . [
το̣ . . [
5]ν̣υς ι̣τ̣ω̣[

Fr. 1 verso. 1–3 seem to be a note on σκόροδον or σκοροδίζειν: cf. Schol. *Ach.* 165 τούτοις (sc. ἀλεκτρυόσι) γὰρ ὅτε μέλλουσι μάχεσθαι σκόροδα δίδοται ἐσθίειν, *Knights* 494 ὅταν γὰρ εἰς μάχην συμβάλλωσιν αὐτοὺς σκόροδα διδόασιν αὐτοῖς, but the recto does not suit any point 30–50 lines distant from either of those two passages. Fr. 2 recto. 1 δρεπανα suggests *Frogs* 576 δρέπανον λαβοῦσ' and κυνα on the verso might refer to κυνοκλόπον in l. 605. σκόροδα occurs in l. 555 of the same play, but Fr. 1 recto does not seem to fit that part of the *Frogs*.

1403. 2 × 3·2 cm. Fragment, found with **1369–74**, &c., of the middle of a leaf from a papyrus codex, apparently in the hand of **1374**, but not from the *Wasps*, though presumably Aristophanes. Fifth century. The text is:

Recto.

] . . [
]υ̣κκεν[
]υ̣σ̣αμενος̣ [
]νωτ̣ο̣ν̣ τ̣[

Verso.

] .
]
]τ̣ο̣υ̣ν̣τ . [
] . ο̣ι̣κενα̣[ι ?
5] . . [

1404. 5·9 × 16·9 cm. On the recto, written across the fibres, part of a Latin paraphrase of the fable of the dog carrying a piece of flesh over a stream and deceived by his own image in the water; cf. Aesop 339, Babrius 79, Phaedrus i. 4. The text is: *Canis carneṃ ịṇṿ[e]ṇịṭ ẹt flu-²men t⟨r⟩ansiebat, deinde cum in ³aquam vidisset umbram car-⁴nis existima[v]ịṭ aḷtẹra⟨m⟩.* There is a blank space of 2·5 cm. after l. 4 and no trace of writing below, which would be expected to be visible if other lines followed immediately. The story thus seems to have been left incomplete. Third century; in a rather large cursive hand. *e* is commonly of the v shape, made without lifting the pen, but twice has the form of ε. On the verso, at right angles, are the ends of four lines of Greek, perhaps an account.

APPENDIX

List of Oxyrhynchus and Hibeh Papyri distributed.

The following is a list of published papyri which have been presented to museums and libraries at home and abroad since the publication of the last list in Part V, pp. 315 sqq. It includes the texts in Parts V–IX, with a small portion of Part X, of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, and the remainder of those in Part I of the *Hibeh Papyri*. The reference numbers given to the papyri in the institutions to which they now belong have been added where ascertained. The following abbreviations are employed:—

B. M. = British Museum. The numbers are those of the Catalogue of Greek Papyri.
Bodl. = Bodleian Library, Oxford. The references are to the hand-list of MSS.
Bolton = Chadwick Museum, Bolton, Lancs.
Brussels = Musées Royaux, Brussels, Belgium.
Cairo = Museum of Antiquities, Cairo, Egypt.
Cambridge = University Library, Cambridge. The numbers refer to the 'Additions'.
Chicago = Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago, U.S.A.
Cleveland = Library of Cleveland University, Ohio, U.S.A.
Dublin = Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
Edinburgh = University Library, Edinburgh.
Glasgow = University Library, Glasgow.
Graz = University Library, Graz, Austria.
Harvard = University Museum, Harvard, Mass., U.S.A.
Illinois = University Classical Museum, Illinois, U.S.A.
Leipzig = University Library, Leipzig, Germany.
Leland Stanford = Library of Leland Stanford University, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
Liverpool = University Library, Liverpool.
Morgan = Pierpont Morgan Collection, New York, U.S.A.
Muhlenberg = Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
Newton = Newton Theological Institute, Newton Centre, Mass., U.S.A.
Pennsyl. = Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
Princeton = University Library, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Princeton T. S. = Library of Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Rylands = The John Rylands Library, Manchester. The numbers are those of the Catalogue of Greek Papyri.
Toledo = Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, U.S.A.
Yale = Library of Yale University, U.S.A.

The following Oxyrhynchus and Hibeh Papyri had been passed on from Brussels to the University Library, Louvain, and have presumably been destroyed. They were numbered in the classical inventory of the University Museum 204–19.

Hibeh Papyri Nos. 39, 45.
Oxyrhynchus Papyri Nos. 419, 478, 488, 507, 509, 673, 679, 743, 836, 953, 973.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

III. 412. B.M. 2040.
V. 840. Bodl. MS. Gr. th. *g*. 11.
841. B. M. 1842.
842. B. M. 1843.
843. Cairo 41082.
844. Harvard.
VI. 845. Cairo 41083.
846. Pennsyl.E.3074.
847. Morgan.
848. Chicago.
849. B. M. 2041.
850. Bodl. MS. Gr. th. *f*. 13 (P).
851. Muhlenberg.
852. Bodl.
853. Cairo.
854. Toledo.
855. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *e*. 99 (P).
857. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 857.
858. Muhlenberg.
859. Liverpool Class. Gr. Libr. 418.
860. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *f*. 88 (P).
861. Newton.
862. Cairo.
863. Cairo.
864. Illinois G.P.864.
865. Newton.
866. Muhlenberg.
867. Illinois G.P.867.
868. Muhlenberg.
869. Toledo.
870. Muhlenberg.
871. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 871.
872. Muhlenberg.
873. Yale.
874. Rylands 449.
875. Cleveland.
876. Princeton.
877. Pennsyl.E.3075.
878. Brussels.
879. Cairo 41084.
880. Graz MS. II. 1948.
881. Cambridge Add. 5884.
882. Yale.
883. Morgan.
884. Bodl. MS. Lat. class. *e*. 20 (P).
885. Cambridge.
886. Cairo.
887. Cairo.
888. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 98 (P).
889. Cairo.
890. Illinois G.P.890.
891. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *f*. 89 (P).
892. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 105 (P).
893. Glasgow.
894. B. M. 2042.
895. Glasgow.
896. Edinburgh Pap. Case 5.
897. Illinois G.P.897.
898. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 898.
899. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *c*. 65 (P).
901. Cambridge Add. 5885.
902. B. M. 2043.
903. Princeton T. S. Pap. 1.
904. B. M. 2044.
905. Edinburgh Pap. Case 6.
906. Edinburgh Pap. Case 7.
907. B. M. 2040.
908. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *c*. 64 (P).
909. Illinois G.P.909.
910. Leland Stanford.
911. Muhlenberg.
912. Cairo.
913. B. M. 2045.
914. B. M. 2046.
915. Yale.
916. Illinois G.P.916.
917. Yale.
918. B. M. 1843.
919. Cairo.
920. Cairo.
921. Cambridge Add. 5886.
922. Illinois G.P.922.
923. Rylands 451.
925. Princeton T. S. Pap. 2.
926. Bolton 28. 14. 1.
927. Illinois G.P.927.
928. Illinois G.P.928.
929. Cairo.
930. Glasgow.
931. Chicago.
932. Illinois G.P.932.
933. Toledo.
934. Muhlenberg.
936. Toledo.
937. Cairo.
938. Chicago.
939. Cambridge Add. 5887.
940. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 940.
941. Illinois G.P.941.
942. Chicago.
943. Toledo.
944. Harvard.
945. Cairo 41085.
946. Morgan.
947. Hibbard Library, Chicago, OAT. 2.
948. Pennsyl.E.3076.
949. Graz MS. I. 1954.
950. Morgan.
951. Princeton.
952. Peabody Museum, Yale.
953. Louvain 218.
954. Leland Stanford.
955. Yale.
956. Cleveland.
957. Brussels.
958. Illinois G.P.958.
959. Cairo 41378.
960. Pennsyl.E.3078.
961. Cairo 41379.
962. Illinois G.P.962.
963. Toledo.
964. Cairo 41086.
965. Morgan.
966. Cairo.
968. St. Deiniol's, Hawarden, A. N. 39496.
969. Cairo 41087.
970. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *g*. 58 (P).
971. Illinois G.P.971.
972. Cairo.
973. Louvain 219.
974. Yale.
976. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 976.
977. Liverpool Class. Gr. Libr. 421.
978. Pennsyl.E.3077.
979. Graz MS. I. 1953.
981. Peabody Museum, Yale.
982. Princeton.
983. Dublin.
984. B. M. 1842.
986. Cairo.
987. Harvard.
988. Cambridge Add. 5888.
989. Cairo.
990. Illinois G.P.990.
991. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 991.
992. Graz MS. I. 1952.
993. Pennsyl. E. 3079.
994. Brussels.

995. Cairo.
996. Graz MS. II. 1942.
997. Cambridge Add. 5889.
998. Brussels.
999. Graz MS. III. 1941.
1000. Graz MS. I. 1951.
1001. Chicago.
1002. Morgan.
1003. Cleveland.
1004. Cairo 41088.
1005. Cairo 41089.
1006. Cairo 41090.
VII. 1007. B. M. 2047.
1008. Cairo.
1009. Cairo.
1010. Bodl. MS. Gr. bib. *g.* 3 (P).
1012. Toledo.
1013. Cairo.
1015. Cairo.
1016. Toledo.
1017. B. M. 2048.
1018. Rylands 450.
1019. Dublin.
1020. Cairo.
1021. Dublin.
1022. B. M. 2049.
1023. Illinois G. P. 1023.
1024. Illinois G. P. 1024.
1025. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d.* 99 (P).
1026. Cairo.
1027. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1027.
1028. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1028.
1029. Cairo.
1030. Illinois G. P. 1030.
1031. Cairo.
1032. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *b.* 7 (P).
1034. Dublin.
1035. Illinois G. P. 1035.
1036. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1036.
1037. B. M. 2050.
1038. Muhlenberg.
1039. Newton.
1040. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1040.
1042. Illinois G. P. 1042.
1043. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1043.
1044. Toledo.
1045. Toledo.
1046. Muhlenberg.
1047. Toledo.
1049. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *b.* 7 (P).
1050. Cambridge Add. 5890.
1051. Illinois G. P. 1051.
1052. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d.* 100 (P).
1053. Cambridge 5891.
1054. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1054.
1055. Newton.
1056. Newton.
1057. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d.* 100 (P).
1058. Princeton T. S. Pap. 3.
1059. Newton.
1060. Rylands 452.
1061. B. M. 2051.
1062. Bolton 28.14.2.
1063. Toledo.
1064. Muhlenberg.
1065. Princeton T. S. Pap. 4.
1066. Toledo.
1067. Toledo.
1068. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1068.
1069. Cairo.
1070. Cambridge Add. 5892.
1071. Cairo.
1072. Newton.
VIII. 1073. B. M. 2052.
1074. Illinois G. P. 1074.
1075. B. M. 2053.
1076. Rylands 448.
1077. Muhlenberg.
1078. Cambridge Add. 5893.
1079. B. M. 2053.
1080. Princeton T. S. Pap. 5.
1081. Cambridge Add. 5894.
1082. B. M. 2054.
1083. Cambridge Add. 5895.
1084. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1084.
1086. B. M. 2055.
1087. Cairo.
1088. B. M. 2055.
1089. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d.* 101 (P).
1090. Liverpool Class. Gr. Libr. 420.
1091. B. M. 2056.
1092. Bodl.
1093. Cairo.
1094. Muhlenberg.
1095. Muhlenberg.
1096. Princeton T. S. Pap. 6.
1097. B. M. 2057.
1098. Cairo.
1099. Cambridge Add. 5896.
1100. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *e.* 100 (P).
1101. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *c.* 66 (P).
1102. B. M. 2058.
1103. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d.* 102 (P).
1104. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d.* 102 (P).
1105. B. M.
1106. Edinburgh Pap. Case 8.
1107. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1107.
1108. Muhlenberg.
1109. Toledo.
1110. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *e.* 100 (P).
1111. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *f.* 90 (P).
1112. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *e.* 101 (P).
1113. Muhlenberg.
1114. B. M. 2059.
1116. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d.* 103 (P).
1117. Cairo.
1118. Toledo.
1119. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *b.* 5 (P).
1120. Illinois G. P. 1120.
1121. Cairo.
1122. B. M. 2060.
1124. Cambridge Add. 5897.
1125. Newton.
1127. Cairo.
1128. Toledo.
1129. B. M. 2061.
1130. B. M. 2062.
1131. Muhlenberg.
1132. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1132.
1133. Cambridge Add. 5898.
1134. B. M. 2063.
1135. Cairo.
1136. B. M. 2064.
1137. Toledo.
1138. Princeton T. S. Pap. 7.
1139. Toledo.
1140. Liverpool Class. Gr. Libr. 421.
1141. Muhlenberg.
1142. Cairo.
1143. B. M. 2065.
1145. Cairo.

1146. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *e.* 102 (P).
1147. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1147.
1148. Cairo.
1149. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1149.
1150. Rylands 453.
1151. Glasgow.
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1153. Bolton 28.14.3.
1154. Muhlenberg.
1155. Newton.
1156. Toledo.
1157. Cairo.
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1162. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1162.
1163. Dublin.
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1168. Princeton T. S. Pap. 10.
1169. Princeton T. S. Pap. 11.
1170. Bodl. MS. Gr. bib. *d.* 14 (P).
1171. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1171.
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1183. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1183.
1185. Rylands 454.
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1187. Cairo.
1188. B. M. 2071.
1189. Princeton CC. 0174. 6. 1189.
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1192. Toledo.
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1315. Cambridge Add. 5902.
1319. Muhlenberg.
1320. Liverpool Class.Gr. Libr. 429.
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8. Brussels.
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13. Pennsyl. E. 3068.
14. Bodl.
15. B. M. 1825.
17. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 79 (P).
18. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *f*. 80 (P).
19. Graz MS. I and III. 1944.
20. B. M. 1826.
21. B. M. 1827.
22. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *b*. $\frac{3}{2}$ (P).
23. Morgan.
24. Cambridge Add. 4461.
25. Yale.
26. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 80 (P).
27. Dublin.
28. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 81 (P).
29. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 82 (P).
30. B. M. 1828.
31. Cairo 41073.
32. Chicago.
33. Cairo 41074.
34. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *c*. 60 (P).
38. Graz MS. III. 1943.
40. Graz MS. III. 1947.
41. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *c*. 61 (P).
47. Cambridge Add. 4462.
48. Cambridge Add. 4463.
50. Pennsyl. E. 3069.
51. B. M. 1829.
52. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 83 (P).
53. Cambridge Add. 4464.
57. Cairo 41075.
58. Morgan.
59. Cleveland.
63. Cairo 41076.
64. Yale.
65. Leland Stanford.
66. Cambridge Add. 4465.
67. B. M. 1830.
68. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 84 (P).
69. Cairo 41077.
70 (*a*). Leipzig Inv. No. 614.
70 (*b*). Leipzig Inv. No. 615.
71. Cairo 41078.
72. Cambridge Add. 4466.
73. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *d*. 85 (P).
74. Graz MS. I. 1949.
76. Brussels.
77. Leipzig Inv. No. 616.
78. Cairo 41079.
80. B. M. 1831.
81. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *c*. 62 (P).
82. B. M. 1832.
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85. B. M. 1834.
87. Peabody Museum, Yale.
89. Morgan.
90. B. M. 1835.
91. Morgan.
92. B. M. 1836.
93. Harvard.
94. Leipzig Inv. No. 617.
95. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *f*. 81 (P).
96. Pennsyl.E.3070.
97. Yale.
98. Brussels.
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101. Cairo 41080.
102. Harvard.
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106. B. M. 1838.
107. Leipzig Inv. No. 618.
108. Chicago.
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113. Graz MS. I. 1946.
115. Brussels.
116. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. *e*. 90 (P).
117. Pennsyl.E.3071.
119. Harvard.
121. Graz MS. III. 1945.
124. Cairo 41081.
128. Yale.
130. St. Deiniol's, Hawarden A. N. 39495.
131. Leland Stanford.
132. Graz MS. I. 1950.
133. Morgan.
137. Princeton.
145. B. M. 1839.
146. Dublin.
147. Cleveland.
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150. B. M. 1840.
151. Morgan.
156. Pennsyl.E.3072.
166. Harvard.
167. Pennsyl.E.3073.
169. Hibbard Library, Chicago, OAT. 1.
171. B. M. 1841.

INDICES

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(*Figures in thick type refer to papyri, those in Italic type to fragments, Roman figures to columns*; *schol.* = *scholium.*)

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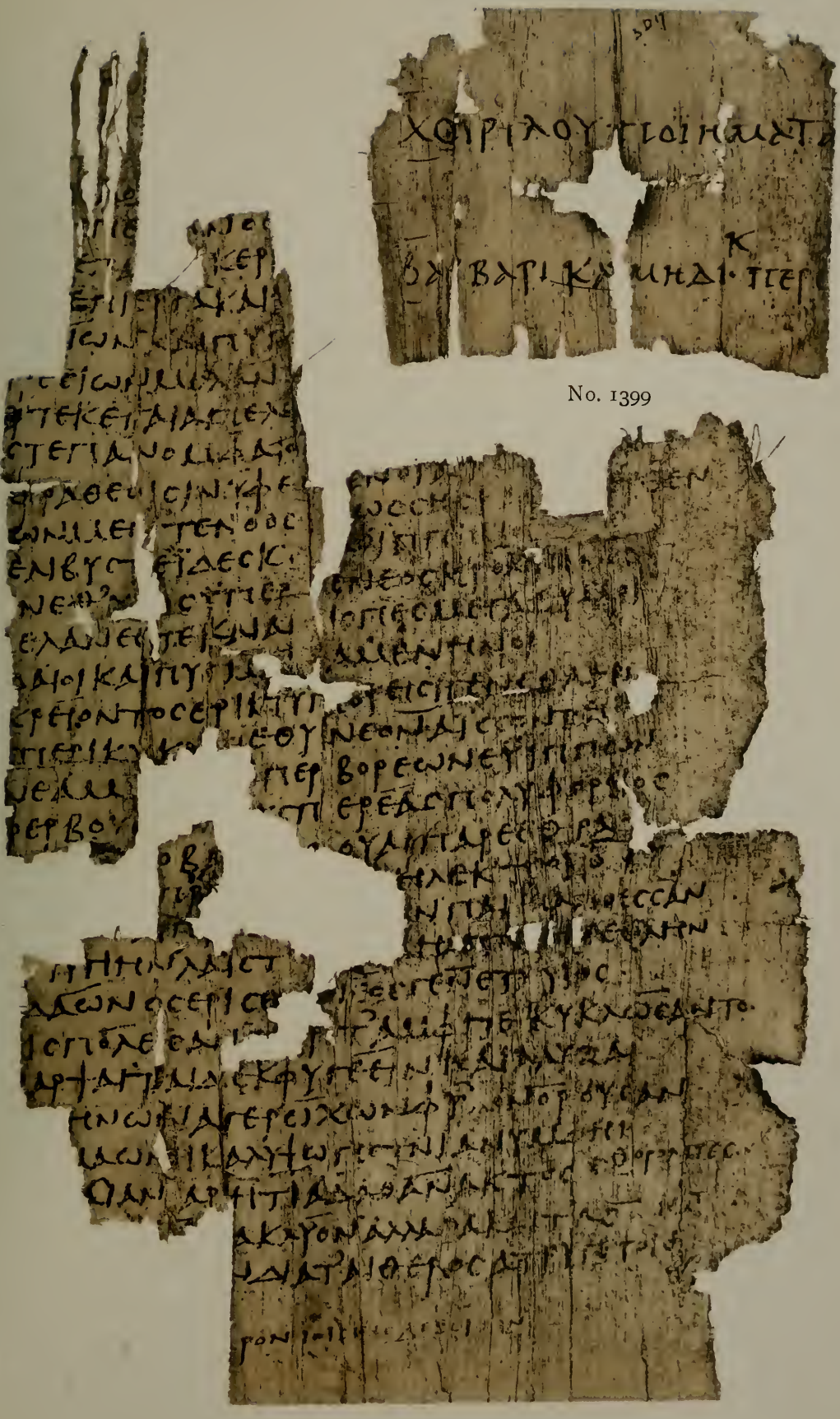

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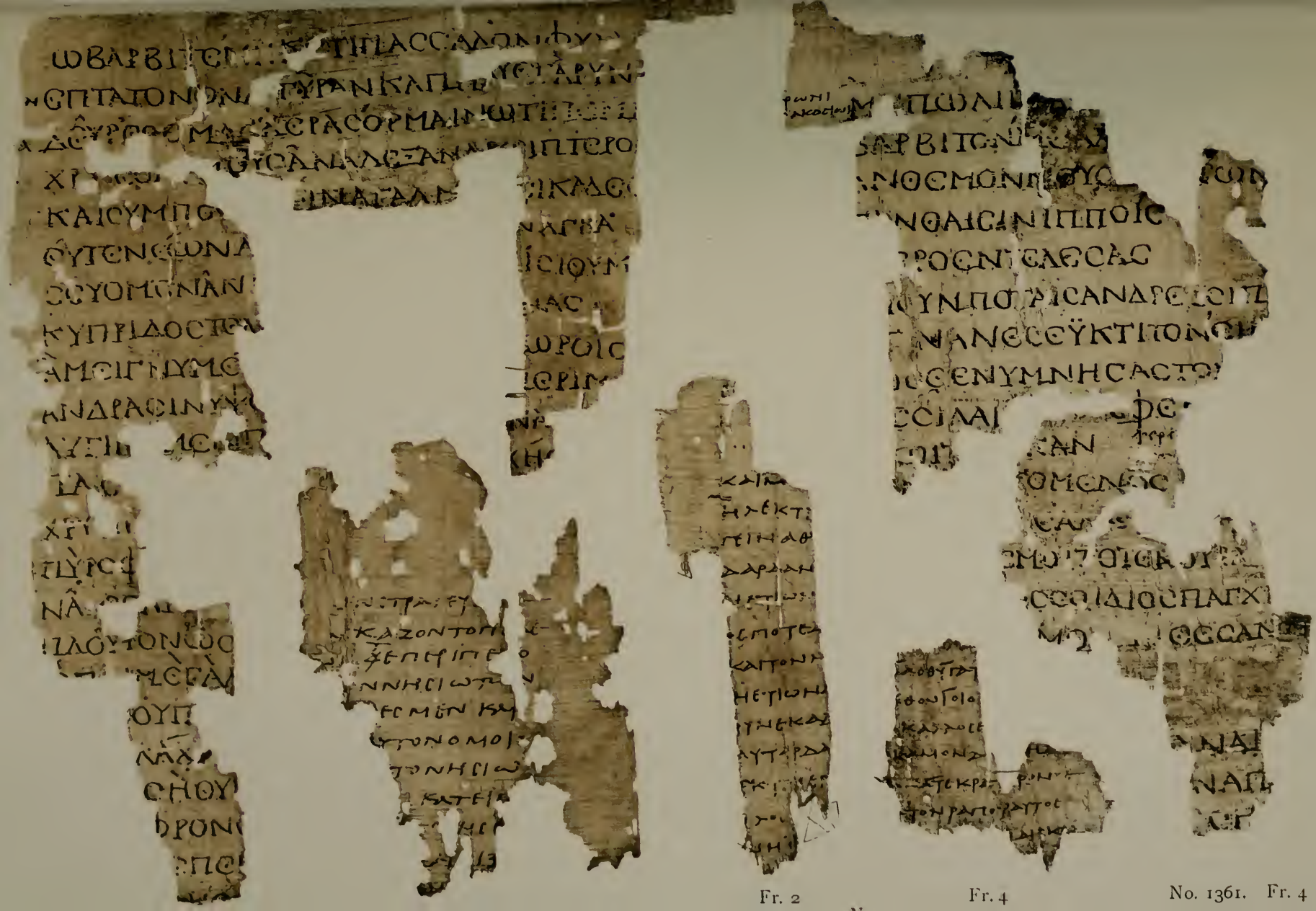

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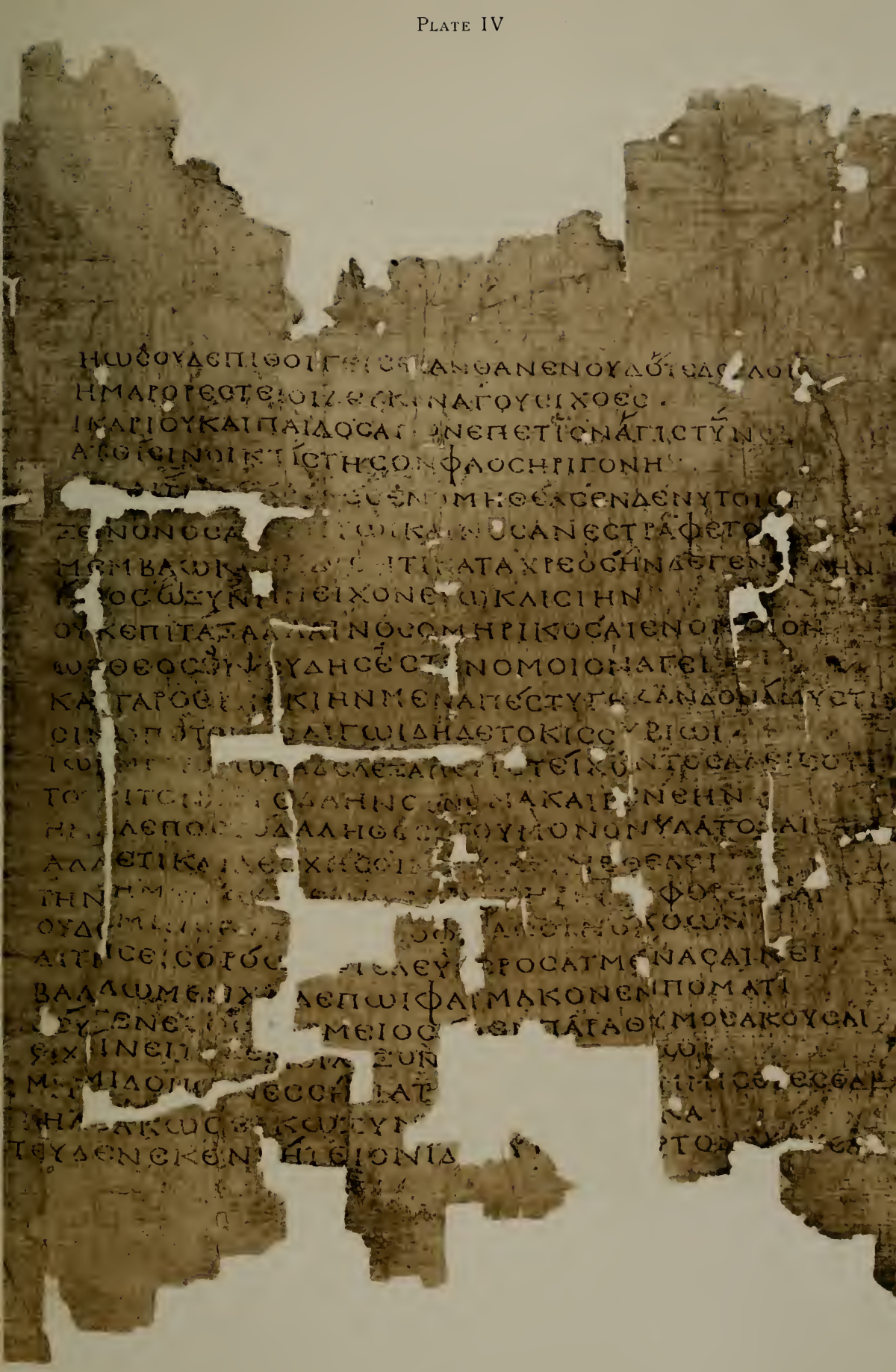

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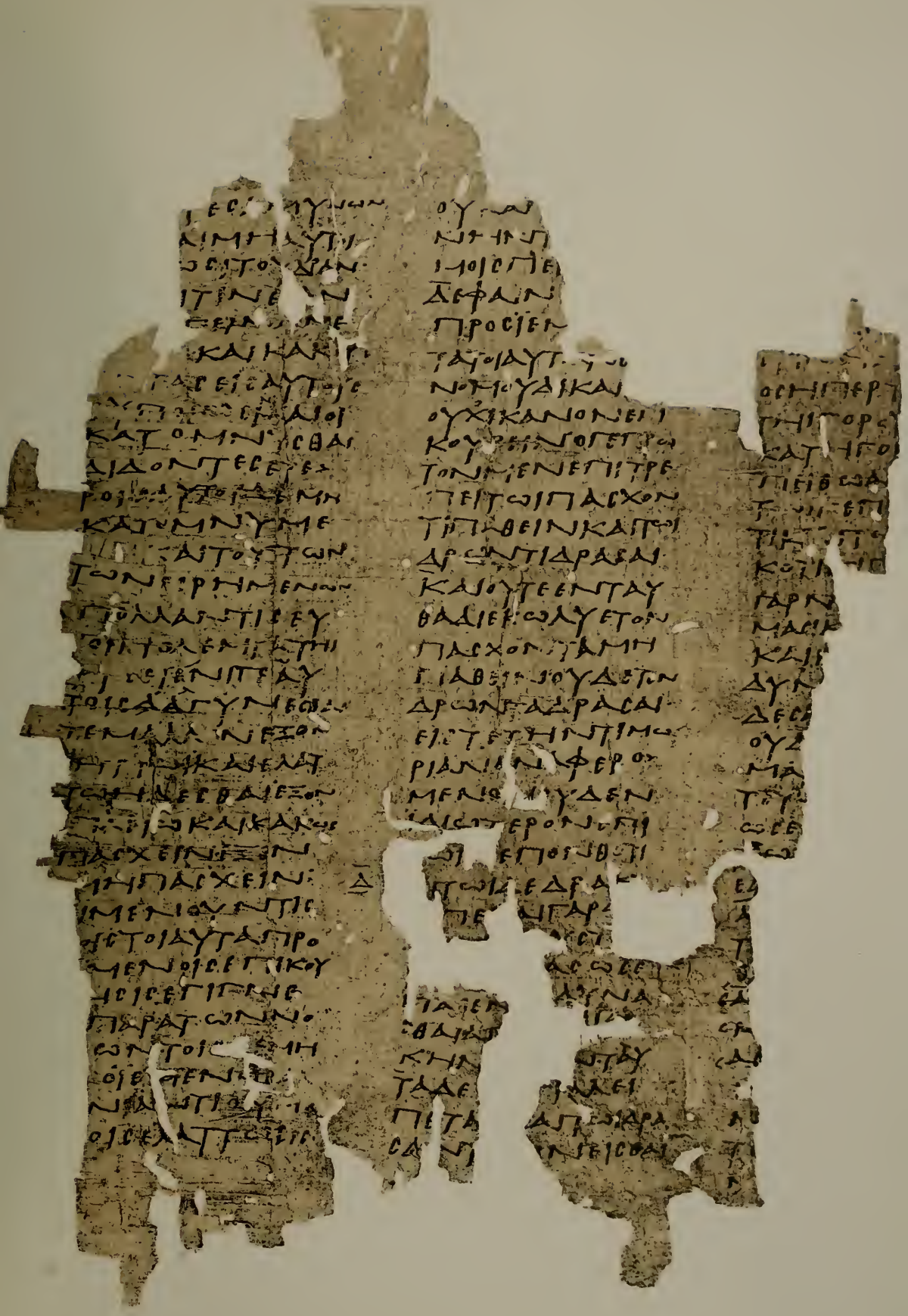

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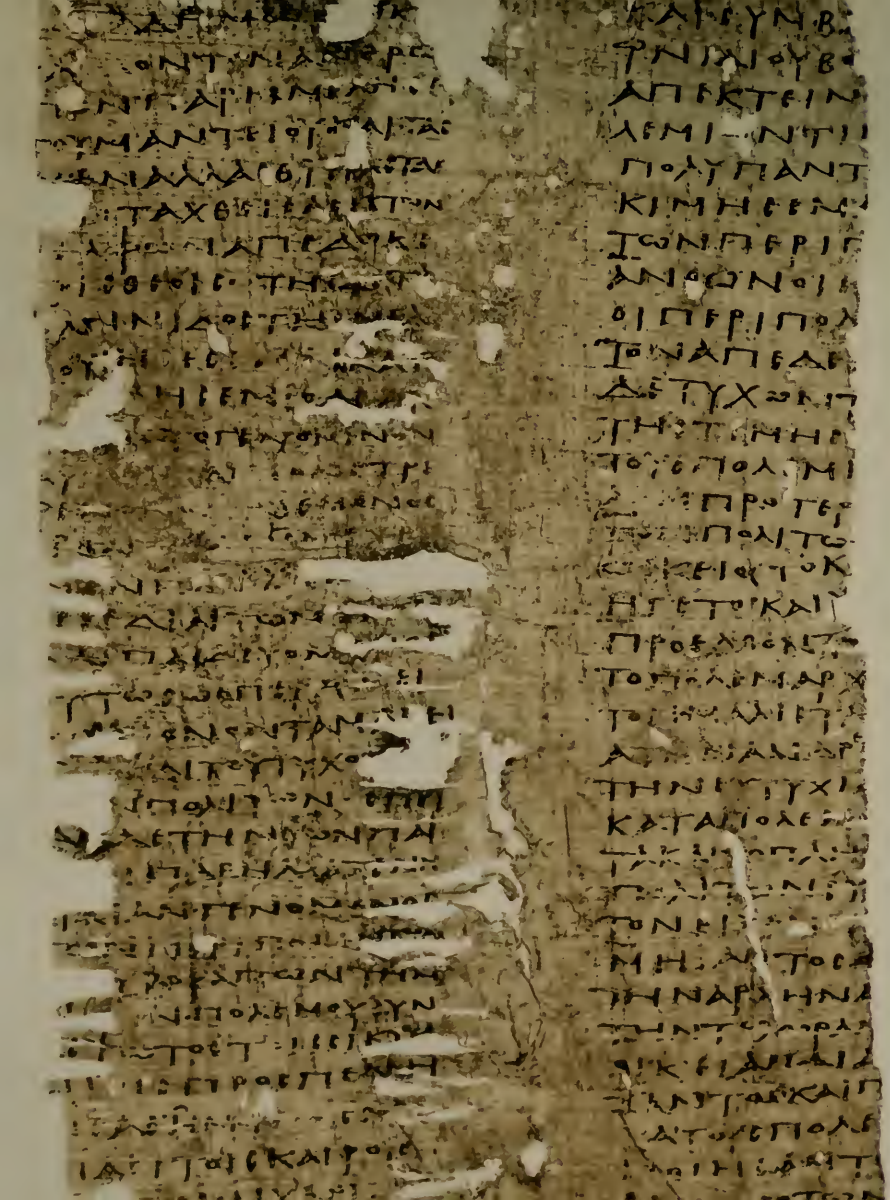

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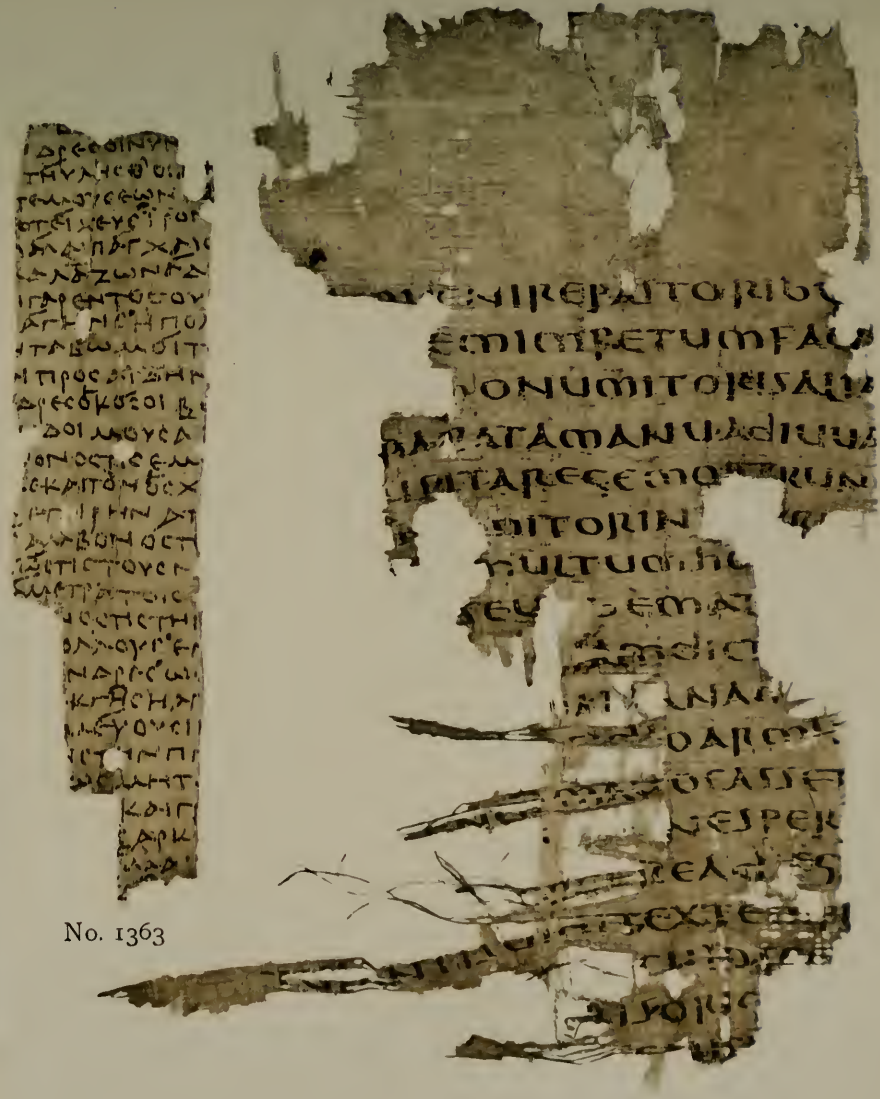

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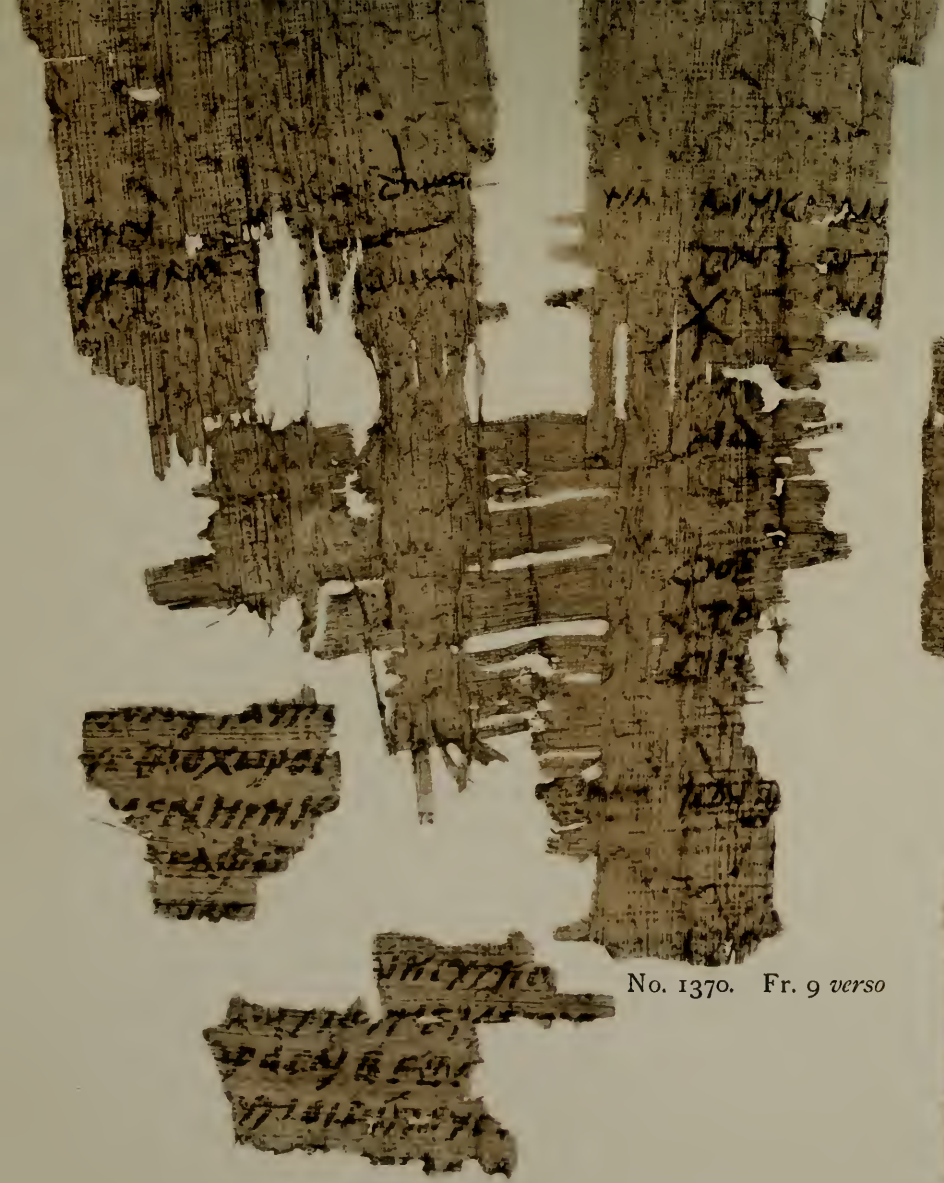

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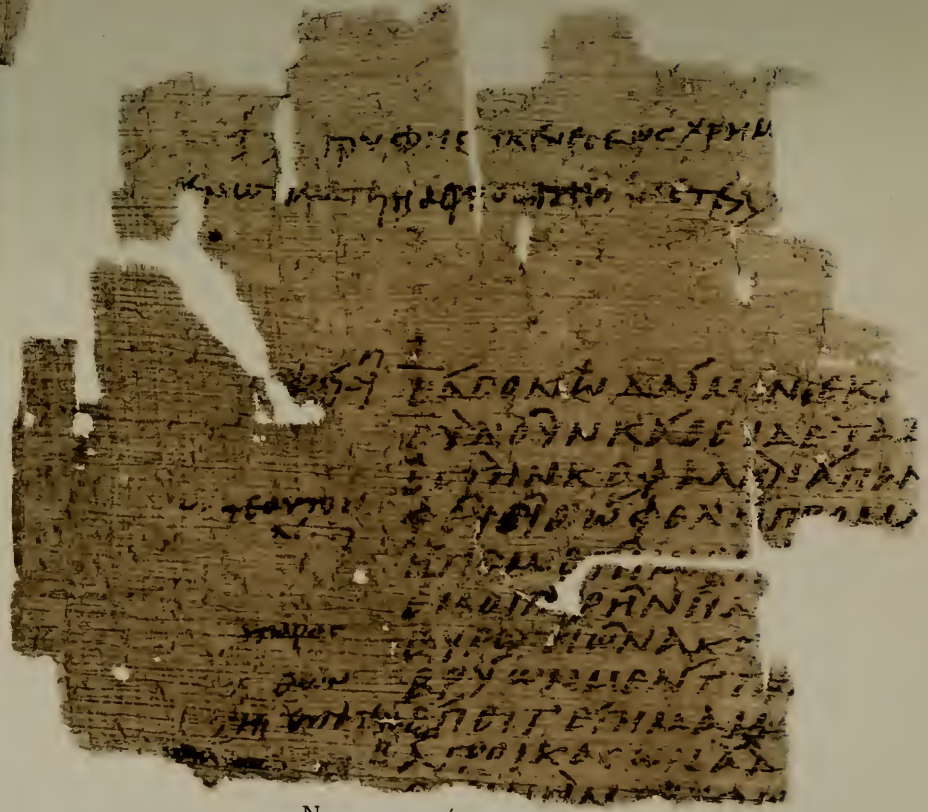

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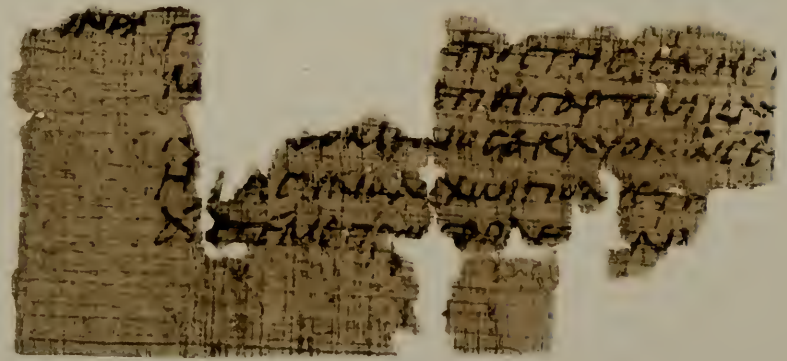

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